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XIII.—THE SYNTAX OF ANTOINE DE LA SALE.

The chief prose works of the fifteenth century in France, by common consent, are the long pseudo-chivalric romance entitled *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, the satire on women called *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* and the collection of tales known as *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. The author of the first work alone names himself: it is Antoine de la Sale, a native of Provence, known also as the author of several didactic works, *La Salade*, *La Salle*, *Le Réconfort*, etc. The author of the *Quinze Joyes* has hidden his identity in a riddle which has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Not even a hint as to the author or editor of the *Cent Nouvelles* is contained in the manuscript. Led astray by an erroneous interpretation of the riddle, Pottier in 1830 ascribed the *Quinze Joyes* to La Sale. Le Roux de Lincy did the same for the *Cent Nouvelles*, in 1841. The first scientific attempt to prove these ascriptions was made by L. Stern in 1870.¹ Stern sought to establish La Sale's authorship of the *Cent Nouvelles* by a comparison of certain details of style and by the fact,

¹ *Versuch über Antoine de la Sale*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, XLVI, 113-218.

noticed more in detail later, that a "conte" addressed to La Sale appears as one of the hundred tales. This was followed immediately by the paper of E. Gossart,¹ which gave special attention to the *Quinze Joyes*. Gossart² showed that La Sale, in *La Salle* and in *Saintré*, had made use of St. Jerome's paraphrase of Theophrastus, also cited in the prologue of the *Quinze Joyes*. However, as M. Raynaud has pointed out,³ this epistle of Jerome, with that of Valerius, also cited in the *Quinze Joyes*, was the chief source of most of the diatribes against marriage in the Middle Ages.

The conclusions of Stern and Gossart were accepted unconditionally by most succeeding writers, as for example by Gaston Paris,⁴ Lanson,⁵ Suchier-Birch-Hirschfeld,⁶ Petit de Julleville⁷ and others. Gröber⁸ alone denied La Sale's claim to the authorship of the *Cent Nouvelles*; he is more inclined to admit that of the *Quinze Joyes*, but is not fully convinced even of this.

Within the last two years, the question of the authorship of these has again come to the fore. M. Joseph Nève, in an exhaustive work on La Sale,⁹ denies his right to be considered the author of the two disputed works. Nève's conclusions have been accepted, fully by Professor Foerster,¹⁰ partially by M. Raynaud.¹¹ The latter still clings to La

¹ *Antoine de la Salle, sa Vie et ses Oeuvres inédites, Bibliophile belge*, 6^e année (1871), pp. 1-17, 45-56, 77-88; reprinted and enlarged as a separate pamphlet, Bruxelles, 1902.

² Pp. 83 ff.

³ *Romania*, xxxiii, 107.

⁴ *La Poésie du moyen âge*, 2^e série, p. 254; *Primer of Medieval French Literature*, 138.

⁵ *Histoire de la littérature française*, 1895, pp. 166-167.

⁶ *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, pp. 252-53.

⁷ *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises*, II, pp. 394-97.

⁸ *Grundriss*, II, 1, 1152-54.

⁹ *Antoine de la Salle, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, Paris et Bruxelles, 1902.

¹⁰ *Litteraturblatt für german. und roman. Philologie*, 1903, col. 402 ff.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 107 ff.

Sale's authorship of the *Cent Nouvelles*. The decisive argument, for him, is the fact that the story of *Floridam et Elvide*, addressed by Rasse de Brunhamel to La Sale, is reproduced as the 98th Nouvelle, under the name of *L'Acteur*. This coincidence was first pointed out by Stern.¹ It is not considered final by Nève, Gröber, or Foerster. The *Quinze Joyes* and its author have also been discussed by the anonymous author of *Une Énigme d'histoire littéraire*,² who likewise rejects La Sale's claims and propounds a new solution of the riddle. For him the person concealed in the rebus is the Abbot Pierre II of Samer (1377) and the date of the work must consequently be set back to the fourteenth century. These conclusions have not yet been confirmed or accepted.³ The question, then, remains undecided, at least till the appearance of the more exhaustive studies promised us by Foerster and Söderhjeim.⁴

The purpose of the following pages is to compare, more or less exhaustively, the syntax of the three works under consideration. The treatise does not aspire to be a complete exposition of the syntax of these works, but simply of those features which offer most interest in a comparative study. I trust, however, that it will not be without interest to students of the historical grammar of the Middle French period. The Syntax of the *Cent Nouvelles* has already been made the subject of a special study by J. Ulrich Schmidt;⁵ in most cases I have accepted his results, so far as they go. For *Saintré* and the *Quinze Joyes*, I have made a copious collection and classification of the chief syntactical phenomena.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

² Paris, 1903. Cf. the reviews by Foerster, *loc. cit.*, col. 406, and by J. Bédier, *Romania*, xxxiii, pp. 438 ff.

³ See especially Foerster's long article, already cited.

⁴ Cf. *Antoine de la Sale et la légende du Tannhäuser*, *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique à Helsingfors*, xi, 101 ff.

⁵ See list of works consulted.

For purposes of comparison, I have often adduced the results of similar investigations of other writers of the period, especially Deschamps, Alain Chartier, and Commynes.

It is regrettable that we do not possess as yet a trustworthy critical text of *Saintré* and the *Quinze Joyes*. Hellény's edition of *Saintré*, which I have employed, is a mere reprint of that of Guichard¹ (1843). It is based mainly on a single manuscript,² corrected occasionally by two of another family.³ I do not believe, however, that the establishment of a critical text would seriously affect the results. The variants given by M. Raynaud⁴ consist mainly in the addition or omission of words or phrases which do not alter the construction. Moreover, the manuscript *I* represents one of La Sale's latest revisions, only two others (*G* and *H*) being posterior to it. Jannet's edition of the *Quinze Joyes* is based likewise on a single manuscript, that of Rouen (dated 1464). Jannet's text is faulty in a few passages. As, however, the three known manuscripts,⁵ according to Professor Foerster,⁶ are simply copies of a single original, it is probable that here also the establishment of a critical text would not seriously invalidate my results.⁷ Wright's text of the *Cent Nouvelles* is based on the single known manuscript and is generally

¹ Cf. the remarks of M. Raynaud, *Romania*, xxxi, 532, n., 544.

² MS. I (Raynaud), B. N. Fr. 1506, dated 1459.

³ Raynaud, *loc. cit.*, 544 ff.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, 538 ff.

⁵ Rouen, Chantilly, and St. Petersburg.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, col. 408.

⁷ I have unfortunately not been able to obtain the recent dissertations of Soelter (Greifswald, 1902) and Dressler (Greifswald, 1903) on the St. Petersburg and Chantilly mss. respectively. I have, however, partly compared the text of the Jannet edition with that of the *editio princeps*, lately reprinted by Heuckenkamp (Halle, 1901). The latter text is much shortened and somewhat rejuvenated (*que que* becomes *quoi que*, preposition *o* omitted, more frequent use of the subject-pronoun, etc.), but otherwise the syntactical peculiarities established for the Jannet text hold good for it also.

considered trustworthy. Doubtless a critical revision of all three texts would produce some modifications of the details of the syntax; but I believe that the chief differences in construction established by these comparisons would persist.

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE.¹

The use of the definite article was notably extended in the course of the fifteenth century.² But usage was still very loose and variable, so that we may expect a marked but hardly constant difference in the prose of the period. Such is the case in the works under consideration. The proportion³ (compared to present usage) of use to omission of the article is in P, 4:1; in Q, 5:1; but in C, 7:1.⁴ The higher proportion of omission in P is due to the frequent lack of the article with definite concrete nouns, determined in the sentence,⁵ as, for example: P, 170, *les aultres dames et damoysselles prindrent aussi chevaliers et escuyers qui estoient venus avecques luy*; 308, *tant que destriers peurent aller*; 411, *lors veissiez dames et moynnes de trembler*; cf. also 101, 152, 200, 247, 267, 308, 359, 395, etc.

I have noted but one similar example in Q: 9, *lors regarde lieu et temps et heure de parler de la matiere*. In C such constructions are much less numerous than in P, occurring only in lively narration with an historical infinitive.⁶

¹ I am of the opinion that henceforth all syntactical studies should adopt the divisions of Meyer-Lübke in volume III of the *Romanische Grammatik*. If, in this paper, I have followed the older grouping by parts of speech, it has been solely for convenience of reference to the preceding study by Schmidt.

² Cf. M-L., §§ 142-190; Gellrich, pp. 53-61.

³ In cases of enumeration, the reader should bear in mind the length of the three works, which are of the same format. P contains 430 pages, Q 146, C 549.

⁴ Schmidt, page 1.

⁵ A construction common in O. F.; cf. Tobler, *VB.*, II, 96 ff.

⁶ For examples, see Schmidt, 4.

With concrete nouns, denoting an object unique in its kind, the article is generally omitted. Of these, *paradis* and *enfer* are always found without the article: P, 36, *semblable à enfer*; 56, *la porte de paradis*;—Q, 5, *avoir paradis*. *Terre* varies in Q and C: Q,¹ 10, *trainent jusques à terre*; 3, *la terre est deserte*; but in P *terre* seems to be always without the article: 31, 61, 429, etc. With *soleil*, *lune*, and *ciel* the article appears regularly in all three works: P, 30, 57, 117; Q, 75, etc.

With class-names the variation is substantially the same in each. The older usage predominates, but examples of class-names with the article occur not infrequently. The varying usage is well shown by the following sentence (P, 32): *quel chose est meilleur que l'or? jaspe. Quel chose est meilleur que jaspe? sens.* Cf. also P, 42: *qui meet home hors de la grace de Dieu*; 31, 34, 60, 61, 152, etc.;—Q, 62, *ils ne prisent riens pauvres femmes*; 24, 42, 81, 92, etc. But, with the article: P, 39, *non pas vivre pour boire et pour manger, comme les pourceaux font*; 7, 8, 38, 40, etc.;—Q, 3, *telles fosses fait l'en à prendre les bestes sauvages*; 21, 34, 78, etc.²

With nouns denoting parts of the body³ many traces of the O. F. usage appear in P and C. P, 44, *en ame, en corps* (cf. 69, *en l'ame et en corps*); 79, *sur piez*; 210, *il fust de teste, de corps ou de bras tellement desarmé*; also 57, 251, 266, 287, 306, etc. For examples in C, see Schmidt, page 2. But in Q only one (doubtful) example of this usage has been observed; 5, *sans incision de membres*. The article, however, is frequently found with such nouns: P, 33, *seiche le corps et fait le cueur inique*; 60, 79, 106, etc.;—Q, 5, *mater la chair*; 23, *sous les piez*; 4, 8, 13, 24, 35, etc.

¹ See Schmidt, 1.

³ Cf. M.-L., § 161.

² For C, see Schmidt, 2.

Before abstract nouns¹ the omission of the article is quite general in all three works. In Q, however, more examples of the modern usage are found than in P or C. Thus in Q I have counted 29 examples of abstracts without the article to 13 with it; the proportion is thus approximately 2:1. In P (first 60 pages) a count gave 59 examples of omission to 5 of use, or approximately 11:1. In C no examples with the article are given by Schmidt.² The syntax of P and C here agrees substantially with that of Chartier.³

Proper nouns of any kind are so rare, especially in Q, that a definite comparison cannot be made. Note however the following: P, 4, *en Brebant*; 301, *six provinces, c'est assavoir, Judie, Persie, Sirie, Egypte, Surie, et Asie*;—Q, 2, *dont advint que France fut la plus noble terre du monde*. But, P, 306, *la grant Hermenie*; 429, *sur le Rosne*. For C, see Schmidt, pp. 3, 4.

With nouns denoting divisions of time,⁴ to which may be added words like *messe, vêpres*, the variation is constant in P and Q: P, 60, *Karesme, Pasques, Noel*; 64, *oyez messe*; 74, *pour estre dimenche ainsi joly*; 354, *vespres commencerent à sonner*;—Q, 24, *une heure ou deux de nuit*; 43, *jusques à matin*. But, P, 65, *la messe ouyr*; 76, *jusques au dimenche*; 108, *le printemps*; 139, *la minuyt*;—Q, 26, *de toute la nuit*; 43, *jusques au matin*; 101, *le samedi*.

With attributive *tout, tous*, an enumeration of the examples in the first 100 pages of P and Q gave the following result: P, 21 cases of omission to 14 of use; Q, 15 cases of omission to 19 of use. In C (see Schmidt, 4) the modern usage predominates, though many examples of omission occur.

Contrary to the modern rule, in P and C the article is regularly employed with a cardinal number, denoting a part of a larger number, expressed or understood:⁵ P, 57, *les*

¹ Cf. M.-L., § 151.

² Page 3.

³ Cf. Eder, 15 ff.

⁴ Cf. M.-L., § 149.

⁵ Cf. Diez, 792.

sept vertus principales, les trois sont divines, les quatre sont morales; 161, *XII lances, dont les six estoient du tout armées et vestues*; 65, 72, 164, 197, 220, 223, 239, 363, 402, 407. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 5. No examples are found in Q, but this is possibly due to chance.

Worthy of notice is the fact that in P alone examples are found of the omission of the article with *même*, a construction common in Middle French:¹ 164, *leurs selles couvertes de mesme drap d'or dont ilz estoient houssez*; 333, 405. No cases are found in Q or C, but this is not an archaic trait.

THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE.²

In respect to the indefinite article, the relative proportions are somewhat different from those of the definite. Q is most conservative, P next, and C most modern. In general, the proportion of use to omission is in Q, $1\frac{1}{2}:2$; in P, $1:1$; in C,³ $2:1$. Examples: P, 20, *avez vous dame choisie*; 173, *bien grant temps fut passé avant de cesser*; 207, *jaçoit ce que Bouciquault fust puis tres vaillant chevalier*; 387, *damp Abbez, qui estoit gracieulx sire*;—Q, 14, *sa femme . . . est bonne et preude femme*; 52, *vous ne vistes oncques plus honneste femme ne plus douce*, etc. For C, see Schmidt, 6.

With comparative *si*, *aussi*,⁴ P has 10 examples with the article to 9 of omission, Q but 2 cases of use to 15 of omission. In C, according to Schmidt,⁵ examples with the article are “ganz vereinzelt.”

With *autre*, we find in P the article expressed 11 times, omitted 4 times; in Q, it is expressed 11 times, omitted 11 times; in C,⁶ examples with the article are “selten.”

¹ Cf. M.-L., § 170.

² Cf. M.-L., §§ 191–200, Schayer, *Zur Lehre vom Gebrauch des unbestimmten Artikels und des Teilungsartikels im Altfranzösischen*, Berlin, 1896.

³ Schmidt, 6.

⁴ Worthy of note is the fact that *aussi* is not found in P.

⁵ Page 6.

⁶ Schmidt, 7.

With *tel* (100 pages), P uses the article 4 times, omits it 7 times; Q uses it twice, omits it 14 times. But in C¹ the modern usage is predominant. As examples of the omission of the indefinite article with *si*, *tel*, *autre*, are still common in the seventeenth century,² no great weight can be ascribed to these comparisons.

The old plural of the indefinite article³ occurs rarely in each of our works: P, 81, *ces chausses d'escarlate et unes aultres de brunette fine*; 195, *unes tres belles heures* (= *livre d'heures*); 245, *unes tres cleres et reluysantes bardes*; 422, *unes lettres*;—Q, 34, *unes botes, ungs esperons, unes vieilles bouges*; 127, *ungs sanglons*. C⁴ has 5 examples.

THE PARTITIVE ARTICLE.⁵

The so-called partitive use of the preposition *de* with the article began to extend itself vigorously in the course of the fifteenth century, though omission was still the general rule. All the examples of the partitive have been noted and the results are presented in the following table:⁶

<i>de</i> + article + sing. noun :	P, 7; Q, 9; C, 16
<i>de</i> + adjective + sing. noun :	P, 1; Q, 0; C, 1
<i>de</i> + art. + adj. + sing. noun :	P, 1; Q, 2; C, 3
<i>des</i> + plural noun :	P, 7; Q, 17; C, 8
<i>de</i> + adj. + plu. noun :	P, 11; Q, 16; C, 9
<i>des</i> + adj. + plu. noun :	P, 1; Q, 1; C, 2
<hr/>	
Total,	P, 28; Q, 45; C, 39

It will be seen that Q, although only one-third as long as P, employs the partitive construction one and one-half times

¹Schmidt, 7. ²Haase, § 57. ³Cf. M.-L., § 199. ⁴Schmidt, 7.

⁵Cf. Diez, 794; M.-L., § 366; for Commynes' usage, which nearly agrees with that of Q, see Stimming, 198.

⁶For C, see Schmidt, 8, 9.

more frequently. Examples, P : 64, *de l'eau benoiste* ; 75, 77, 211, 329, 356, 357 ; 367, *de son vin* ;—418, *qui s'estoient donnez du bon temps ensemble* ;—69, *je vous feray des biens* ; 72, 72, 83, 106, 356, 428 ;—98, *de beaulx harnoyz de drap* ; 133, 141, 161, 264, 309, 345, 346, 378, 391, 405 ;—109, *tu portes des bons conseils*. Q : 26, *de la viande froide* ; 44, 63, 71, 90, 94, 109, 119, 124 ;—113, *et se donnent du bon temps* ; 114 ;—30, *et lui bailleront des actaintes* ; 39, 42, 60, 62, 62, 62, 62, 82, 82, 82, 82, 121, 132, 132 ;—22, *et dient de bonnes choses* ; 37, 37, 45, 54, 81, 83, 91, 93, 100, 106, 106, 124, 128, 130 ;—70, *elle en a essayé des aultres*. Examples of the omission of the partitive occur on almost every page.

With adverbs of quantity, the following examples of the omission of partitive *de* have been noted : P, 83, *aultres biens assez* ; 87, *il trouva argent assez et assez de demoutrance* ; 112, *il avoit cuer et corps assez pour faire parler de luy* ; 390, *qui leur font tres bonne chiere et honneur assez* ;—Q, 7, *il a aises et plaisances largement* ; 28, *j'ay assez robes* ; 40, *n'a gueres grant chevance* ; 47, *elle a assés robes* ; 124, *j'ay ung pou affaires avec elles* ;—C¹ has two examples with *assez*, one with *largement*.

Contrariwise, the article is used with *de* and an adverb of quantity in : P, 35, *des richesses assez* ; 36, *tant engloutir des ames* ; 100 (*assez*), 301 (*assez*), 311 (*assez*), 317 (*tant*) ;—Q, 30, *des biens et des vins plus qu'il n'en entreroit en une botte* ; 88, *des biens assez* ; 103, *des nouvelles assez* ;—C² has four examples with *largement*, one with *assez*.

With adverbs of negation, I have counted nine examples of the use of partitive *de* in P, to ten in Q. Here again the proportion, taking into account Q's length, is much greater in the latter. In C, according to Schmidt,³ the modern usage predominates. The difference may be due to

¹ Schmidt, 9.² Schmidt, 10.³ Page 10.

the comparative infrequency of the negative complements, *pas*, *point*, in P.

THE NOUN.

A few traces of the Old French system of declension occur in Q, especially with the word *homme*, but they are probably due to an affectation of archaism on the part of the scribe.¹ Thus: 20, *en laquelle ne se doit bouter nulz sages homs*; 34, *le bons homs*; 54, *et m'eist Dieux*. In P the only remnants of the O. F. nominative are the word *Amours*, used constantly as a singular, and the expression *damp Abbez*. No traces occur in C.

Examples of the O. F. genitive without *de* are found in each work, somewhat more frequently in P than in Q or C. Thus, aside from the common formula *par Dieu mercy*, *la Dieu mercy*, we find in P: 66, *Cassiodore dict au livre des louanges saint Pol*; 67, *et vous souviengne du dict* (substantive) *Albertus*; 97, *sur l'espaule Jehan de Saintré la mist*;—in Q: 12, *par le sacrement Dieu*; 88, *en la chartre nostre Seigneur*. C² has three examples.

The O. F. dative without *à* occurs only in the formulae *si Dieu plaist*, *puisque Dieu plaist*. Note also P, 227, *le roy m'a commandé vous dire, l'ung et l'autre*.

THE ADJECTIVE.

A. Comparison.

To express the superlative idea, the definite article was not necessary in Old French,³ and traces of this usage still lingered in the seventeenth century.⁴ Of this older construction, the following instances are found in these works:—

¹ Cf. Villon's "ballade en viel langage François," G. T., 385–412.

² Schmidt, 11.

³ M.-L., § 162.

⁴ Haase, § 29.

(1) With a following adjective, the article is not repeated in P, 223, *les cinq plus grosses*; 258, *le seigneur de Padua dernier*; 312, *leur desconfiture plus briefve*. No similar cases occur in Q, and but one in C.¹—(2) In relative clauses, the article is more frequently omitted, especially with adverbial *plus* or *mieux*: P, 15, *celle qui plus desirez à estre sien*; 87, *les deux qui meilleures bouches avoient*; 16, 22, 84, 98, 131, 191, 211, 239, 333;—Q, 61, *les gens du monde à qui je suy plus tenu*; 87, 130. Schmidt¹ cites four examples from C.—(3) Of the O. F. favorite construction *plus tot que pot*,² one example occurs in Q, one in C, none in P. Q, 96, *à laquelle chose n'y a remede sinon la celer et reparer la chouse à mieulx que l'on peut*.

As examples of *mieux* for *plus*, I may cite: P, 360, *pour mieulx dignement gagner vos pardons*;—Q, 135, *je les regarde embridéz et abestis mieulx que les autres*.

The modern rule regarding the neuter superlative is not observed in Q, 65: *je vous ferai la plus courroccée que vous fustes oncques*. The distinction was, however, practically unknown even in the seventeenth century.³

B. Agreement.

When modifying two or more nouns, the adjective still agrees with the nearest, as in Old French,⁴ in P and Q: P, 127, *la despense et finance à ce nécessaire*; 361, *les veulx et la chiere basse*;—Q, 1, *pour nulles prieres ne avoir*; 34, *quelque jeu ou instrumens qu'il voie*. Schmidt gives no examples of this rule from C, nor have I been able to discover any.

Other variations from modern usage which may be noted

¹ Page 13.

² Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 171.

³ Haase, p. 61.

⁴ A usage still common in Rabelais; cf. Huguet, 392.

are: P, 191, *sauve sa grace*;—201, *à nuds genoulx*;—Q, 123, *plus de demie nuit*.

One example is found in P and Q of the old licence *elle fait le sourd*:¹ P, 253, *ma dame . . . ne vout pas estre la plus courtoise, ainsi fist le sourt*;—Q, 63, *la dame fait le malade*.

In adverbial function, adjectives still vary as in Old French,² in P: 98, *tous semblables vous en ferez faire de beaulx harnoyz de drap*; 324, *chevaux tous blancs*; 410, *telz moyennes sont bien clers semez*.³ No examples are found in Q, which has the modern construction, 27, *Dieu sceit comme elles sont chier tenues et honnestement gardées*. In C⁴ adverbial *tout* agrees with feminine adjectives, but with masculine plurals remains invariable, following the modern rule. Schmidt cites no examples of other adverbial locutions.

C. Numerals.

P has six examples of the old construction, according to which the tens, hundreds, etc., are connected by *et*:⁵ 4, *cinquante et neuf*; 98, *cent et soixante*; 338, *mille et cinq cens*; 267, 301, 306. But without *et*: 99, *cent soixante*; 220; 286; 429, *vingt deux*. No examples occur in Q, but this is purely fortuitous. Three with *et* are found in C.

Of other variations from present usage, we may note: P, 112, *deux mil escuz*; but, 136, *sept mille*; 301, *sept mille, cinq cens, quarante et huyt*.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Three examples of the old periphrasis with *corps, personne*,⁶ are found in P: 47, *celle n'est point à comparer à*

¹ Tobler, *VB.*, I, 166.

² M.-L., § 130; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 75 ff.

³ Tobler, *loc. cit.*, has no examples of this locution from O. F. texts; "doch kann dies zufällig sein."

⁴ Schmidt, 41.

⁵ Cf. Darmesteter, § 182.

⁶ Diez, 809–810, Darmesteter-Sudre, § 398.

ma personne ; 326, *n'y avoit celluy qui ne eust mis son corps pour luy* ; 406, *et luy monstra ung chevalier semblable à sa personne*. One rather doubtful example occurs in Q : 128, *par Nostre Dame du Puy, où j'ay mon corps porté*. No cases are found in C. The periphrasis seems to have died quite early. No examples occur in Deschamps, Chartier or Commynes, nor in the sixteenth century authors cited by Huguet.

In regard to the use of the subject forms, *je*, *tu*, etc., as tonic forms separated from the verb,¹ a remarkable difference is found between P and C on one side, and Q on the other. I have noted in P nine examples of this construction : 42, *tu, mon seul Dieu, as hay et hais* ; 45, *il sur tous sera le mieulx condicionné* ; 68 ; 113, *je qui vous ay choysi vous prie* ; 122, 148, 164, 231, 384. Schmidt² cites fifteen examples from C, mostly of *il* with a parenthetical relative clause. C, unlike P, has no example of tonic *tu*.³ But Q has not a single example of these tonic subject forms, agreeing therein with Commynes.⁴ Huguet⁵ thinks that this construction died out toward the end of the fifteenth century, but was later revived by Le Maire des Belges and Rabelais. Q, like Commynes, has the modern usage fully developed : 62, *lui . . . lesse les parolies* ; 131, *quar moy mesmes la estranglasse* ; etc.

Examples of pronouns in the predicate are so rare in P and Q that it is not possible to draw any definite conclusion. Each has one example of the older usage : P, 333, *certes, ce fut il* ;—Q, 64, *c'est il qu'il y fait venir*. C contains six similar examples.⁶ P nowhere shows a case of the modern construction with the tonic object form,⁷ while Q has at least one such example : 55, *c'est moy*.

¹ Cf. Haase, V. and J., 11.

² Page 16.

³ Deschamps' usage agrees with that of P : Voll, 12, 13.

⁴ Stimming, 491.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁶ Schmidt, 16.

⁷ The sentence, 335, *ce n'est mye mon cuer, ne moy*, is not conclusive.

Before finite verbs, the tonic object forms are used only with impersonal *souvenir*: P, 18, *souviengne vous de moy*; 28, *souviengne toy* (cf. 62, *qu'il vous souviengne*); 68, etc.;—Q, 49, *souviengne vous de moy*. C¹ has one similar example. But the tonic dative with the preposition *à*, with verbs like *parler*² occurs commonly in all three works: P, 14, *je vueil cy parler à vous*; 25, *meilleur qu'à vous n'appartient*; 84, *se à moy ne le voulez dire*; 241, *afin de mieulx deviser à luy*; 395, *j'auroye plus grant besoing d'estre à luy recommandé*;—Q, 48, *j'ay à parler à vous*; etc. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 16, 17.

In Old French a well-known rule required that the tonic object forms be employed with the infinitive and gerund.³ Traces of the modern construction, with the atonic forms, appear first in Froissart.⁴ In Chartier⁵ the older construction is still the more common. In Commynes,⁶ however, the modern usage, aside from purely reflexive *soi*, is fully developed. An exact enumeration⁷ of all the different cases in our works has given the following results:—

Reflexive *me*, *te*, *se*, with the infinitive: P, 8; Q, 11; C (first 50 nouvelles), 23.

Reflexive *me*, *te*, *se*, with the gerund: P, 1 (140, *en s'excusant*, in chapter-heading⁸); Q, 2 (61, *en se gratant la teste*; 120, *en se merencoliant*); C, 1.

Reflexive *moi*, *toi*, *soi*, with the infinitive: P, 38; Q, 16; C (first 50 nouvelles), 23.

Reflexive *moi*, *toi*, *soi*, with the gerund: P, 10; Q, 3; C, 5.

Reflexive *eux* with the infinitive: P, 10; Q, 0; C, 4.

Reflexive *eux* with the gerund: P, 3; Q, 1; C, 0.

It will be seen that P has 61 examples of the tonic reflexives to 9 of the atonic; Q, 20 to 13; C, 32 to 24. No clearer

¹Schmidt, 16.

²M.-L., § 378; Voll, 20, 21.

³M.-L., § 722; Tobler, *VB.*, II, 82-91.

⁴*Zeitschrift für roman. Phil.*, v, 326. Deschamps (Voll, 13 ff.) keeps to the old usage.

⁵Eder, 62-3.

⁶Stimming, 492.

⁷For C, see Schmidt, 17-19.

⁸Probably not La Sale's, cf. Raynaud, *Romania*, xxxi, 531-32.

proof of the archaic character of P's syntax could be found. La Sale is fully as conservative as Chartier. P has furthermore one example of plural *soi*, also an archaic trait:¹ 249, *avec luy quatre heraulx, pour le veoir et soy offrir à luy*.

With the non-reflexive pronouns, the conservative character of P is equally manifest:—

Non-reflexive *me, te*, with the infinitive: P, 1 (239, *de l'honneur qu'il vous a pleu me faire*); Q, 10; C (50 nouvelles), 4.

Non-reflexive *me, te*, with the gerund does not occur in any of the works.

Non-reflexive *moi, toi*, with the infinitive: P, 24; Q, 1; C, 17.

Non-reflexive *moi, toi*, with the gerund: P, 5; Q, 0; C, 1.

The resulting proportions of the employment of the tonic to the atonic forms of the pronouns, with the infinitive and gerund, are in P, 9:1; in Q, 1:1; in C, 2:1.

Tonic *soi*, referring to persons, was commonly used all through the M. F. period and in the seventeenth century.² The sole difference between our works that I have noted here is that *lui, elle*, with prepositions, referring to the subject, are somewhat more common in Q than in P or C. Examples: P, 19, *ma dame le fist à soy venir*; 159, *Saintré . . . de soy mesme fist response*; 92, 177, 201, 211, 222, etc.;—Q, 9, *la femme dist en soi mesmes*; 30, *tellement que tout de soy il sera dompté*; 19, 42, 43, 71, 105, etc. But, according to modern usage: P, 371, *adonc l'empereur les fist tous devant luy venir*; 395, etc.;—Q, 33, *il n'en fera ja rien pour lui*; 36, 44, 60, 82, etc.

The emphatic object-pronoun, repeating the atonic subject form (*je dis, moi*), appears first in the fourteenth century.³ Not many cases occur in the fifteenth. I have found no instances of this construction in P or Q, but in C Schmidt⁴ cites 12 examples.

¹ Deschamps has no example of plural *soi*: Voll, 17.

² Haase, 31–32, cf. Voll, 18.

³ Gessner, *Zur Lehre vom französischen Pronomen* (Berlin, 1873), I, 10.

⁴ Page 20.

One example of the atonic accusative in place of a dative is found in P: 185, *messire Enguerrant . . . haussa sa hache et le ferit tel coup*. Two instances are found in C:¹ none in Q.

The O. F. custom of omitting the subject pronouns was still not uncommon in the M. F. period.² An enumeration of the cases in the first 100 pages of P and Q gave the following results:—

	P.		Q.	
	EXPRESSED.	OMITTED.	EXPRESSED.	OMITTED.
<i>je</i>	192	68	414	39
<i>tu</i>	36	8	8	1
<i>il, elle</i>	329	110	926	114
neuter <i>il</i>	54	61	182	154
<i>nous</i>	20	10	24	1
<i>vous</i>	149	90	161	23
<i>ils, elles</i>	65	27	143	28

For the figures in C, see Schmidt, 21.

These figures give the following proportions of use to omission:—

<i>je</i> ,—	P, 3 : 1 ; Q, 11 : 1 ; C, 5 : 1.
<i>tu</i> ,—	P, 4½ : 1 ; Q, 8 : 1 ; C, —.
<i>Il, elle</i> ,—	P, 3 : 1 ; Q, 8 : 1 ; C, 2½ : 1.
neuter <i>il</i> ,—	P, 1 — : 1 ; Q, 1 + : 1 ; C, 1 : 1
<i>Nous</i> ,—	P, 2 : 1 ; Q, — ; C, 3 : 1.
<i>vous</i> ,—	P, 1⅔ : 1 ; Q, 7 : 1 ; C, 2 : 1.
<i>ils, elles</i> ,—	P, 2 : 1 ; Q, 5 : 1 ; C, 2 : 1.

It will be seen that in this respect P and C are nearly alike, but that in Q the modern usage is much more predominant.

Omission of the accusative object, with a dative, was frequent in Old French, and subsisted till the seventeenth century.³ Examples of this construction are numerous in

¹ For C, see Schmidt, 21.

² Darmesteter, § 184, 185 ; Huguet, 344 ff.

³ M.-L., § 379 ; Haase, 5-6 ; Ebeling, note to *Auberée*, l. 655.

all three works.¹ P, 116, *puis fist faire le bracelet comme elle luy avoit commandé et puis vint à elle et luy monstra*; 14, 120, 191, 247, 384, etc. Q, 72, *sa femme cognoist bien qu'il y a quelque chose et se doubta de l'autre qui lui a dit*; 54, etc.

The accusative pronoun, without a following dative,² is also omitted six times in P: 60, *querez bon medecin de l'ame, ainsi que querriez pour la guarison du corps*; 130, *il envoya querir mes chevaux et mener avecques les siens*; 209, 224, 345, 409, 220. No examples of this omission occur in Q, and but two in C.²

Omission of the neuter accusative *le*³ is common in each of the works: P, 51, *estre mocqué et farcé, ainsi comme d'autres ont esté*; 150, *plus suffisans que je ne suis*; 384, *qui fut seur, ne fut il mie*; 10, 20, 154, 189, 229, etc.;—Q, 11, *je fu bien mal de mon pere et suis encor*; 132, *il sera, dorenavant, plus subget qu'il ne fust oncques*. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 22.

The pleonastic subject pronoun, repeating a subject already expressed, is common in P and C:⁴ P, 175, *alors Saintré soy inclinant le tres bel ruby il print*; 65, *les gens qui ne cherchent monter trop hault, et sont contens de raison, ilz sont benoistz*; 26, *quiconques le fait aultrement, il est de bien faire lassez*. I have found no examples of this omission in Q.

In like manner, a preceding or following noun-object is often repeated by a pronoun in P: 59, *je vous commande que les sermons et les services de sainte Eglise, quant vous povez, les oyez*; 73, *dont à plusieurs, ce long parler . . . leur ennuyoit*; 330, 337, 364. This is much less common in Q and C; the latter⁵ has only two examples. For Q, note: 37, *il a doubté que elle le die à ses amis, qu'il die mal d'eulx*. Here P is somewhat more modern than Q or C.

¹ For C, see Schmidt, 21.

² Cf. Ebeling, *loc. cit.*, Mätzner, *Syntax*, II, 34.

³ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 105.

⁴ Schmidt, 22.

⁵ Schmidt, 22.

The interrogative pleonastic construction ¹ (*Jean, vient-il?*) was not firmly established till the seventeenth century. Two examples of it are found in P: 368, *Belle Cousine, vient elle?*; 407, *les oreilles, monseigneur de Saintré, vous cornoient elles?*. Four cases occur in C, none in Q.

The atonic subject pronoun is used as the antecedent of a relative: P, 335, *il en devroit tres grièvement estre pugny qui le fait aultrement*; 404, 407. This construction was common in the whole Middle French period.² Two examples are found in C,³ none in Q.

Pronominal *en*, referring to persons, is used in all of the works much more freely than at present, as was the case in the older language.⁴ Q moreover has one example of *en* referring to the second person: 49, *je vous prie que vous me dites si elle vous parla oncques puis de moy. Par ma foy, dist la chamberiere, elle n'en dit que tout bien*. Pleonastic *en* is also found in all three works: P, 11, *dont le peuple de Rome en eut grant soulas et joye*; 16; 21; 44, *tellement que de son bien, de son honneur, et de tout son avancement elle en sera joyeuse*; 63, 87, 199, 203, etc. It is very common in P. Q, 125, *il y en a aucunes d'elles*. It is very rare in Q, and C⁵ has only two examples.

On the other hand, *en* is omitted, contrary to modern usage, in P, 88, *puis que ainsi est*; 301, *les Sarrazins estoient en grant nombre de Turcz et infidelles, plus qu'on n'avoit veu depuis le temps de Mahomet*; 321, 404;—Q, 3, *et va tant à l'environ de la dicte nasse qu'il trouve l'entrée*; 41, *si ainsi est*. No cases for C are given by Schmidt.

Pronominal *y*, referring to persons,⁶ is found also: P, 77, *je croy, Saintré, que vous avez à voz recepveurs compté. Nostre*

¹ Cf. Darmesteter-Sudre, § 391. Voll, 23, shows that it is unknown to Deschamps.

² Haase, V. and J., 22; Voll, 27, 29.

³ Schmidt, 22.

⁴ Haase, 23; Voll, 34.

⁵ Schmidt, 23.

⁶ Cf. Haase, 26–27.

maistre, dist il, c'est ma dame ma mere qui y a doncques compté ; 396 ;—Q, 73, *ainsi se gouverne la dame si sagement que, Dieu mercy, son mary n'y trouvera ja faulte ;* 113. C has seven instances.¹ Pleonastic *y* is found : Q, 101, *sans y penser à nul mal ;*—twice in C, never in P.

In regard to the position on the object pronouns, C is more faithful to the O. F. usage² than P or Q, the latter being again most modern. C³ has but one example of the modern order, to four in P and six in Q : P, 17, *et ainsi me le promettez ;* 24, *ne vous le disoie je pas ;* 72, 396 ;—Q, 9, *vous me le direz ;* 50, *qui vous les a baillez ;* 25, 53, 73, 130. Q has about twenty examples of the original order (the proportion is thus 3 : 1), while in P the excess is very great. Q has also five examples of the modern word-order with *y* and *en* : 101, *il y en a ;* 96, 111, 112, 115 ;—while there are no instances at all in P or C.

THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The tonic form of the possessives, with the definite article, continued to be used adjectively through the sixteenth century.⁴ The construction was not, however, much affected by fifteenth century writers⁵ and is found in C alone,⁶ in the formula *la sienne merci*. No examples occur in P or Q. With the indefinite article, however, the tonic possessives appear eight times in C,⁷ twice in Q (*ung sien amy ;* 73, *ung mien amy*), but never in P. As this usage lingered late, and is still permissible in familiar speech, it is evident that no conclusion as to age can be drawn from this distinction.

The tonic possessive is not found joined to another pro-

¹ Schmidt, 24.

² M.-L., § 749.

³ Schmidt, 24-25.

⁴ Darmesteter, § 190 ; Huguet, 66 ff.

⁵ For Chartier, cf. Eder, 66 ; for Commynes, Toennies, 58.

⁶ Schmidt, 25.

⁷ Schmidt, 24-25.

noun in any of the works. The atonic form is however joined to a demonstrative pronoun in C¹ and in P: 40, *ceste leur gloire*; 111, *à ce vostre commandement*; 148, 353;—but never in Q. Moreover, in P alone it is found twice joined to a relative: 151, *desquelles voz armes . . . la royne, les dames et damoysselles . . . en ont telle joye*; 266, *auquel vostre voloir je obeyray*. In Q it appears united to an indefinite pronoun, once (56, *auleun son amy*), and there are five similar examples in C,¹ but none in P.

In the predicate, the tonic form without the article is found six times in P: 15, *celle qui plus desirez à estre sien*; 101, *tellement que tous sont siens*; 190, 401, 402, 406. This construction is not found in Q, but is frequent in C. With the article, the tonic form appears in the predicate once each in P and Q: P, 15, *quelle contenance est la vostre*;—Q, 73, *si n'est la vostre*;—never in C. On the other hand, the modern locution *c'est à moi* is found five times in C,² never in Q, and once (a rather doubtful case) in P: 76, *nous sommes tous à luy*.

The method of replacing the possessive by *de* with a personal pronoun³ is found in all three works: P, 55, *le commandement et garde de l'ame et du corps de vous*; 76, *pour l'amour de luy*; 152, 191, 200, 205, 319, 363, 397, 404. In Q, it is not common; I have noted only two examples: 26, *pour l'amour de moy*; 109, *le pouvre corps de luy n'aura jamés repoux*.

The possessive pronouns were still commonly employed in the fifteenth century with parts of the body, in cases where the modern language prefers the article. Here P is much more archaic than Q or C, having fifteen examples, in the first 200 pages, of such nouns with the possessive to five with the article, whereas Q has two with the possessive to eight

¹Schmidt, 25.²Schmidt, 26.³Cf. Stimming, 493; Voll, 20.

with the article, and in C only six instances with the possessive are found. In fact P shows a great fondness for a pleonastic possessive,¹ not shared by the other works; it employs the possessive with the dative of the personal pronoun: 11, *qui lui baillèrent en sa main une branche de lorier*; 48, 73, 360, 387, 427;—with a relative à *qui* or *dont*: 78, *ma dame, à qui ses yeulx ne cessoient de le regarder*; 211, *ce chevalier poullain, dont ses armes sont publiées*; 111, 138, 339;—or even with a *de*-phrase containing a noun: 204, *quant Saintré apperceut de ma dame son signal*; 23, *j'ay oy de vous toutes voz opinions*; 384, *Saintré, qui oyt² de ma dame sa tres cruelle responce*. In Q such cases are much rarer, being found only with *lui* or à *qui*: 33, *on lui abrege ses jours*; 48, *un jeune gallant, à qui elle tient son estat*; 91, 95, 130. The pleonasm seems to be unknown to C.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

The New French distinction between the *ille*- and *iste*-forms of the demonstrative was well developed as early as Joinville,³ and but few traces of the older usage appear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴ In this case another noteworthy difference is found to exist among the three works. In P I have noted seven examples of pronominal *cest* (all of them feminine) to four in C⁵ and one in Q: P, 210, *celles et cestes qui seroient faictes seroyent tenues pour parfaites*; 217, *et la raison est ceste*; 223, *cestes et celles*; 225; 260, *le roy encores à ceste le requist*; 362;

¹ For all the following cases in O. F., cf. Tobler, *VB.*, II, 78 ff.

² Possibly *de*, in these last sentences, is not really possessive. It may be used as in the O. F. construction *oyez de alcun*; cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 17 ff.

³ Haase, V. and J., 31 ff.

⁴ Huguet, 83 ff.; Haase, 46 ff.

⁵ Schmidt, 27.

385, *savez vous autre chanson que ceste*;—Q, 136, *car j'ay plus belle matiere de le faire que cette-cy n'est*.¹

The form *cestui*, not uncommon in early sixteenth century writers, is found six times in P (five times as pronoun, once as adjective); it occurs only once (adjective) in C and never in Q: P, 10, *j'amoye tant cestuy que je ne pourrois jamais nul aultre tant soit peu amer*; 128, *sur cestuy* (neuter); 175, *vrayment cestuy est bien la fleur de tous les jeunes gentils hommes*; 188; 191; 63, *or advise, mon amy, de cestuy Senegue*. It will be seen that P has in all twelve examples of pronominal *iste*-forms, to four in C and one in Q. In this respect, P is more archaic than Deschamps² or even Joinville;³ other writers however, like Rustebuef⁴ and Chartier,⁵ employ the *iste*-forms more frequently.

Another archaic trait in P is the constant use of the *ille*-forms as adjectives. I have counted in P more than eighty examples of adjectival *celui*, etc., while Q contains only fourteen and C⁶ eighteen: P, 6, *celuy jouvencel*; 10, *celles vefves*; 17, *pour celle fois*; 119, *à icelle feste*; 210, *iceluy prix*, etc.;—Q, 3, *celuy poisson*; 5, *celles quinze joyes*; 41, *celle avarice*; 3, *icelles fosses*; 56, *ycelle robe*; etc. In this respect P shows about the same syntactical relations as Deschamps,⁷ while Q and C agree substantially with Rabelais.⁸

The *ille*-forms are frequently employed in P absolutely, in all positions in the sentence, without being accompanied by *ci* or *là*. This usage, rare in the sixteenth century⁹ and in Commynes,¹⁰ is also rare in Q and C. In Q the forms with

¹ Schmidt's "demonstrativum" *acquest* (C, I, 176) is not a pronoun, but the substantive *acquêt*, as the context clearly shows.

² Bode, 34.

³ Haase, V. and J., 31.

⁴ Schumacher, *Zur Syntax Rustebuefs* (Kiel, 1881), p. 18.

⁵ Eder, 72.

⁶ Schmidt, 28.

⁷ Bode, 36.

⁸ Huguët, 94 ff.

⁹ Cf. Huguët, 104.

¹⁰ Toennies, 60.

i- are the only ones used absolutely : 2, *les seigneurs d'icelles vouloient tollir franchise à leurs subjetz* ; 7, *faire ballades, icelles chanter* ; 33, 53, 135 (5 examples in all). Schmidt cites no examples of this construction in C ; I have however found the following : 1, 24, *je seroye celuy* ; 1, 138, *vint ceste matiere à la congnoissance du maistre et de la maistresse des deux amans, et d'iceulx s'expandit et saillit en audience du pere et de la mere de Katherine*. In P, however, I have noted ten examples of *celui* and three of *icellui* : 51, *lors celle lui dit* ; 210 ; 225 ; 253 ; 25, *devez vous celles tant servir* ; 38, *je vous prie que soyez de ceulx* ; 71 ; 166 ; 264 ; 119, *par l'espace d'un an, se dedans icelluy vous ne trouvez chevalier* ; 187 ; 365.

The indefinite use of the absolute demonstratives (*comme celui qui, il n'y a pas celui qui*)¹ is found in all the works, very frequently in P and C,² less often in Q ; P, 80, *en la cour n'avoit celluy ne celle qui ne le jugeast une fois estre homme de bien* ; 98, 141, 143, 167, 197, etc. ; 14, *quant il oy parler de dame par amours, comme celui qui oncques ne l'avoit empensé, les yeulx lui lermoyent* ; 20, 23, 189, 347, etc. ;—Q, 130, *et n'y a celle qui ne die de tres bonnes raisons* ; 85, *son filzouldra prendre le gouvernement de soy . . . comme celui à qui sa mort tarde* (only two examples).

The pronoun *celui* could be omitted in Old French before *de*, and even in the seventeenth century.³ This omission is not uncommon in P and Q : P, 95, *pour acquerir la grace de Dieu et puis de toutes gens* ; 109, *à ce pend largement de vostre honneur et ceulx qui aultrement le font* ; Q, 6, *considerons la repugnance qui est en leur entendement et le mien et de plusieurs autres*, etc. Schmidt cites no examples from C, but several are to be found : 1, 114, *elle compta tout au long*

¹ Cf. Darmesteter-Sudre, § 406, III ; Haase, § 26.

² Schmidt, 28.

³ Tobler, VB., I, 111 ; Haase, 52 ; Stimming, 494 ; Huguet, 375.

la fasson et maniers de sa maladie, comme de son dormir, de boire et de manger.

P has also several examples of the demonstrative adjective *ce* employed with the force of the article, as in O. F.:¹ 102, *pour plus de familiarité, vous en porterez une à ceste feste de Noel*; 112; 246; 390, *s'il fait froit, ilz s'en vont à ces poiles d'Allemagne, se rigollent avecques ces fillettes tout l'yver*, etc. This usage persisted till the seventeenth century.²

Neutre *ce*, in the fifteenth century, was still commonly employed as subject or object without a following relative.³ Examples are found on almost every page, nor does there seem to be any perceptible difference among the three works in this respect. On the other hand, the accented forms *ceci*, *cela*, occur but sparingly in P and Q, more commonly in C. To be precise, P contains eight examples of these forms, Q six, while C⁴ has twenty-two, a difference hardly due to chance: P, 14, *que sera cecy*; 402, *cela, dist damp Abbez, et je le vous prometz*; 14, 69, 72, 85, 388, 396;—Q, 39, *s'il n'y avoit que cela*; 55, *qu'est ce cy*; 73, 74, 101, 123.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The use of absolute *qui*, without an antecedent, was very widely spread in Old and Middle French and asserted itself still in the seventeenth century.⁵ This *qui* is common in all three works, being especially frequent in clauses with a conditional value. I have observed no differences in respect to this usage: P, 384, *qui bien y querroit, en vous peu s'en trouveroit*; 396, *qui fut seur, ne fut il mye*; etc.;—Q, 27, *qui doit venir de vos commeres aujourd'huy, il fault penser qu'elles soyent bien ayses*, etc.

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 409.

² Haase, 44.

³ Darmesteter-Sudre, §§ 405–408.

⁴ Schmidt, 29.

⁵ M.-L., § 629; Haase, 66 ff.

I have found no case of the O. F. use of *qui* as object.¹ Of *qui*, referring to things, only the following doubtful example is found: P, 326, *la partie à qui Dieu donnera du pire*. Here *partie* contains a personal idea.

Que, as a personal subject form, occurs in each, most frequently in C, which has ten examples.² The instances in P, three in all, are rather uncertain: 44, *combien n'en ouy jamais parler de nulle que* (possibly the conjunction) *telle fut*; 140, *le matin ensuivant . . . que* (very likely the relative adverb) *le terme estoit de partir*; 259, *peu de tems avant que les Venissiens l'eussent conquis, que* (possibly the modal conjunction, = *de façon que*) *puis en prison le firent mourir*. Q has one undoubted case: 14, *par Dieu que le monde fist*. The difference between C and P-Q is noteworthy, but examples of this use of *que* are still frequent in *Jehan de Paris* and *Rabelais*.³

Traces of the old neuter nominative *que*⁴ also occur: P, 157, *voulez que je parface ce que en son veu contient*; 217, *adviengne de vous ce que à Dieu plaira*; 329; 374;—Q, 28, *se j'avoye ou X ou XII enfans, que ja ne sera, si Dieu plaist*; 82, *parler de tout ce que lui est advenu*. Six examples in C.

When referring to a whole clause, the modern *ce qui*, *ce que*, became the fixed usage only in the sixteenth century.⁵ Of the subject forms, C⁶ has only one example of *ce qui* in the first 50 *nouvelles*, P three (182, 399, 413), Q none. For the object forms, the relations are reversed. P contains twelve examples of *ce que* to four of *que* (52, 63, 134, 309), while C⁶ has fifteen of *ce que* to one of *que*. In Q examples of either form are lacking.

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 410.

² Schmidt, 30.

³ Huguet, 117.

⁴ M.-L., § 614; Voll, 37.

⁵ M.-L., § 619; Haase, *Garnier*, 21.

⁶ Schmidt, 31.

Quoi, referring to a definite antecedent,¹ occurs twice in P: 183, *aultres diabolicques operations de mal engin, pour quoy* (plural) *l'ung contre l'autre ne puissent offendre ne deffendre*; 301, *pour le grant desbatement en quoy elle est*;—twice in Q: 119, *il a ung tres mauvais desboit, pour cause du fust en quoy il est*; ² 127, *puis prend son coutel de quoy il tranche*;—five times in C.³ Referring to indefinite *chose*, it is found once in P (375), once in Q (54), once in C.³

With the prepositions *de*, *par*, and *pour*, *quoi* forms conjunctions,⁴ which are more common in P and Q than in C. Thus we find *de quoi*: P. 19, 375; Q, 54, 74;—*par quoi*: P, 130, 149, 154, 211, 248; Q, 56, 125;—*pour quoi* (= *c'est pourquoi*): P, 92, 334; Q, 45. C has but one example each of *par quoi* and *pour quoi*. It will be seen that P has nine instances of indefinite *quoi* with prepositions, to five in Q and two in C.

Lequel, the frequent employment of which was a marked feature of M. F. syntax,⁵ is very common in each. The only difference in usage which I have noted is that adjectival *lequel*, very common in P and C, occurs only four times in Q: 19, 19, 42, 86.

The relative adverb *que* is found in P, as in O. F., extensively employed to express various relations where N. F. prefers a relative with a preposition: ⁶ 72, *chausses qui seront toutes brodées de couleur et devise que la bourse est*; 76; 87, *au plus matin qu'il fut levé*; 91, 106, 173, 194, 242, 244, etc. Q and C⁷ have each only two examples of this construction: Q, 42, *et se met en lieu que, s'il va riens*

¹ M.-L., § 614; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 411; Voll, 47.

² Sentence omitted in the *editio princeps*.

³ Schmidt, 32.

⁴ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 160 ff.

⁵ M.-L., § 621; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 412.

⁶ M.-L., § 628; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 123; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 415.

⁷ Schmidt, 33.

en la meson, il le scaura bien ; 91, en la liberté que sont les autres.

The relative adverb *dont*,¹ in its original local function, is common in P and C, less so in Q, which has only three examples: P, 28, *regarde dont tu viens et où tu vas*; 78, *demanda à l'escuyer dont il venoit*; 302, *et là est le mont de Liban, dont sault le fleuve de Jourdain*; 66, 88, 102, 111, 182, etc.;—Q, 31, *et ne se esmoient point dont il vient*; 40, 89. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 34.

Dont, in causal function,¹ is extremely frequent in P. It becomes often a mere conjunction, binding two sentences together in a loose way, the causal connection being indicated by *par ce* or *par ainsi* following. This usage is one of the most characteristic features of P's style and is much less frequent in Q and C. Examples: P, 15, *le petit Saintré, qui n'avoit senty ne gousté des amoureux desirs nullement, dont par ce avoit perdu contenance, . . . sans mot parler fut longuement*; 154, *et sur ce prent congié. Dont, pour priere nulle, Saintré ne vout demourer de disner*; 215, *et en ce temps ne tarda guieres que la nouvelle du trespas de son pere luy vint. Dont par ainsi il fut seigneur de Saintré*; 268, 36, 122, 172, 187, 259, etc.;—Q, 11, *je ne vouloie que vous ; dont je fu bien mal de Monseigneur mon pere, et suis encor, dont je me doy bien hair*; 14, *il loue Dieu en son courage, dont il lui donna ung si riche joyau comme elle est*; 15, 19, 23, 61, 74.

The relative adverb *où*, till the seventeenth century, could refer to persons.² C has five examples of this construction,³ Q has two: 112, *elle se rémarie à ung aultre, où elle prent son plesir*; 130. No cases are found in P. On the other

¹ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 160, III, 38 ff. The usage is likewise very frequent in Deschamps, cf. Voll, 45.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 414; Haase, 81.

³ Schmidt, 34; cf. also Voll, 48.

hand, neuter *où*, without an antecedent and referring to a whole clause, occurs only in P: 204, *lors commencerent l'ung à l'autre festoyer, où furent mains baisiers donnés et mains rendus*; 322, *en laquelle retourner ne povoient, se la royne ne dormist avecques le roy, où ilz s'employèrent toutes fois que au roy plaisoit*. No similar cases are found in Q or C.

THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

Of the neuter nominative *qui*,¹ but one example is found in P: 337, *Saintré, qui vous a esmeu de ceste emprinse faire sans mon congié?* There is one similar example in C,² but none in Q. The periphrases *qu'est-ce qui* and *qu'est-ce que* are lacking in all three works.

Qui, subject, occurs once in P with the force of modern *quel*:³ 142, *qui est le cueur de femme qui se porroit tenir de plorer*. Also *quel* is used once by P for modern *lequel*: 402, *mais d'une chose vous prie, que pour ma premiere requeste ne m'esconduisiez. Et quelle, dist damp Abbez*.

In respect to the employment of the neuter forms in indirect questions, C for the first time in this investigation, shows itself as the most archaic of the three.⁴ Namely, P contains two examples of the neuter nominative *ce qui* (230, 420), Q six (21, 34, 45, 82, 97, 135), but neither has an example of *qui*. C⁵ has twelve examples of *ce qui* to six of *qui*. In respect to the accusative forms, P contains 24 examples of *que* to 49 of *ce que*; Q, 32 of *que* to 41 of *ce que*; but C,⁶ 53 of *que* to 29 of *ce que*.

Neuter *quelle chose* (= *que, ce que*) is found in P, 32, 69, etc., and in C:⁶ not in Q. But this is probably fortuitous.

¹ M.-L., § 515, Darmesteter, § 167.

³ M.-L., § 517; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 418.

⁶ In *nouvelles* XI-L; Schmidt, 36.

² Schmidt, 35.

⁴ Haase, *V. und J.*, 54.

⁶ Schmidt, 36.

A distinctive feature of Q's syntax is the use of the neuter atonic form *que* in concessive phrases:¹ 44, *que qu'en soit*; 54; 91; 98, *que que nul die*. *Que que* and *quoi que* were used interchangeably in Old French,² but I have been unable to find examples of the former later than the fourteenth century. There are no traces of *que que* in P or C.

THE INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

Aucun, substantive and adjective, was still positive in meaning in the fifteenth century.³ Numerous examples are found in each of these works. P has, moreover, two instances of *aucun* with *ne*, expressing the idea "no one," as in New French: 177, *mais pour priere nulle, aucun n'y voulut demourer*; 411, *le seigneur de Saintré ordonna à ses gens de bien garder l'huyz que aucun n'entrast*. Q and C are ignorant of this usage. Furthermore, C has seven examples of substantive *aucun*, always in the plural, with the article,⁴ a construction unknown to P and Q. *D'aucuns*, with partitive *de*, is peculiar to P: 391, 419.

The modern positive form, *quelqu'un*, is found only in C,⁵ which contains three examples.

Aucun as adjective has yielded much more ground to *quelque* in C than in P or Q. In P, I have counted only ten examples of purely indefinite *quelque*: 54, 106, 112, 112, 121, 146, 148, 325; and in Q four: 45, 78, 81, 94. *Aucun*, on the other hand, is very frequent in both. C,⁶ on the contrary, in *nouvelles* XI-L, has 16 examples of *quelque* to 38 of *aucun*.

¹ In the *editio princeps*, these phrases are either omitted or changed to *quoi que*.

² Cf. Johannssen, *Der Ausdruck des Concessivverhältnisses im Altfranzösischen* (Kiel, 1884), 18 ff; also Tobler, *VB.*, III, 3-4.

³ Eder, 85-86.

⁴ Also common in Chartier: Eder, 19; Schmidt, 37.

⁵ Schmidt, 37.

⁶ Schmidt, 37.

Peculiar to P is the adverbial use of *aucun* in the locution *aucun peu*: 192, *messire Enguerrant qui pour la dolleur de sa main se faisoit aucun peu habiller*; 251, *aucun peu blessé*; 381, *aucun peu repoussés*. Similarly the positive adverb *aucunement* is very common in P (79, 156, 342, etc.), while only one example has been observed in Q (19), and none in C.

Chacun, adjective, is employed in about equal numbers in each of the works. Employed as a substantive with the indefinite article,¹ it occurs twice in P: 206, *ains à ung chascun plus doux et agreable se monstroït tous les jours*; 317, *le roy et la royne, messeigneurs, les dames et damoiselles et ung chascun*;—once in Q: 85, *comme ung chascun doit faire*;—and once in C.²

Nul, positive, is frequent in each of the works. In P, however, negative *nul* is employed without the particle *ne*: 56, *nul fust plaisant à Dieu*; 174, *nul au monde pourroit mieulx faire*; 212; etc. This use of *nul*,³ with a complete negative force, does not occur in Q or C.

The old dative form *nullui* is also found in P, but not in the other works. It is employed not only as object of a preposition: 35, *homme de telle condition ne peult estre de nully aymé* (cf. 48, 150, 182), but also as the object or predicate of verbs: 94, *sans desservir nully*; 385, *est il nully, qui vous ay dit le contraire*; 429. The form is found as late as Rabelais, the *Heptameron*, and Marot.⁴ Contrariwise, the synonymous *nesun* occurs in C,⁵ but not in P or Q.

Rien, in its original signification as a positive feminine substantive, occurs three times in C,⁵ but never in P or Q.

Chose, as an indefinite pronoun, is about equally numerous in all three works. In C, however, it is fully established as

¹ A construction common in the sixteenth century: Darmesteter, § 173.

² II, p. 102.

³ Still found in Rabelais: Huguet, 160.

⁴ Huguet, 147–48.

⁵ Schmidt, 39.

a neuter,¹ while in P and Q it retains its original gender, as is shown in Q, 72, *il ne croiroit jamés chouse qui lui fust dite*. Furthermore, the modern *quelque chose* is found but once in P (135), twice in Q (56, 72), while it is frequent in C.¹

The numeral *un* appears as an indefinite (= *quelqu'un*), as in Old French, in P: 100, *puis tout secrettement par ung de sa chambre me fist donner cent LX escuz*; 125, 154, 410. C has three examples of this usage,¹ but Q has none. It recurs, however, commonly in Commines and in early sixteenth century writers.²

Autrui, in its original dative function,³ without a preposition, is found twice in P: 55, *sy ne convoiteras point l'autrui*; ⁴ 133, *vous taillez larges courroyes d'autrui cuir*. In Q the word occurs but once, in its modern function, nor are any examples of the original usage found in C.⁵

The modern *la plupart* is common in C,⁵ but is not found in P or Q, which replace it in general by *la plus grant partie*: P, 167, 301; Q, 112, etc. P has also one example of the old form, *les plusieurs*: 69, *dont ne sceivent les plusieurs quelle chose ilz doivent prendre*.

Adjectival *quant*⁶ (= *combien de*) is found eight times in C,⁷ never in P. In Q it occurs only in the locution *quant que* (= *ce que*): 73, *j'en donne au deable tout quant que il en a dessoubz mes mains*; 75, 89, 109, 121, 132. C⁷ has likewise one example of adjectival *tant*,⁸ not found in P or Q.

*Autel*⁹ is also peculiar to C.

*Trestout*⁹ occurs in C and P (4, 161, etc.), never in Q.

Beaucoup, which appeared first in the fourteenth century,¹⁰

¹Schmidt, 39.

²Stimming, 496; Huguet, 155.

³Cf. Haase, *V. und J.*, 37.

⁴This locution occurs in sixteenth century writers: Darmesteter, § 172.

⁵Schmidt, 40.

⁶Diez, 828.

⁷Schmidt, 40.

⁸Diez, 828.

⁹Schmidt, 41.

¹⁰Cf. Gessner, *op. cit.*, II, 28.

is very frequent in C, but is found only twice in P (50, 91), and never in Q.¹ In both the latter works, it is replaced by adverbial *moult* or adjectival *maint*.

The extended use of *quelconque* is peculiar to P, which employs it as an indefinite adjective (= *n'importe quel*) or as a concessive (= *quelque*):² 200, *à roy, ne à royne, ne à quelconques autres*; 369, *luy deffend que à quelconques personnes n'en dye riens*; 83, *de quelconques menasses, parolles rigoureuses, que devant mes femmes ne ailleurs je vous dye*; 267, *pour quelconque excusation que j'aye faicte*; 286; 374.

Concessive *quiconque*, common in the sixteenth century,³ is found only once, in Q: 22, *et se tiennent bien aises, quiconques ait la paine de le querir*.

THE VERB.

A. Class and Voice.

The following list shows the chief differences in the construction and regimen of verbs, in the three works. Variations from N. F. usage have alone been noted.⁴

(a) Impersonal verbs, no longer in use:

afferir, P, 1 (412); Q, 0; C, 1.

chaloir, P, 1 (82); Q, 3 (32, 62, 131); C, 2.

douloir, P, 1 (60); Q, 1 (86); C, 0; also reflexive, P, 238; Q, 134.

escheoir, mescheoir, only in C.

(b) Transitive or intransitive verbs, with changed construction in N. F.

accroistre qc., P, 5 (48, 189, 200, 241, 325); Q, 1 (82); C, 1.

¹ In the *editio princeps* it often replaces *maint* or *moult* of the mss.

² For similar constructions in O. F., cf. Johannssen, *op. cit.*, 28 ff, who cites no examples later than the fourteenth century.

³ Huguët, 155.

⁴ The figures indicate the number of examples in each work; those in parentheses, the page. For the examples in C, cf. Schmidt, 43-45. Cf. similar lists given by Bode, 46 ff.; Eder, 107 ff.; Huguët, 164 ff.

aider à qu., P, 7 (45, 82, 93, 111, 217, 234, 387); Q, 3 (121, 132, 132); C, 0.
approcher qu., P, 1 (330); Q, 0; C, 3; more commonly in P and Q *s'approcher de qu.* (P, 175, 261, etc.; Q, 53, 63).

changer qc., P, 5 (172, *s'en alla en sa loge pour changer destrier*; 173, 209, 216, 318); Q, 0; C, 0.

consentir qc., P, 4 (36, 226, 248, 258); Q, 1 (132); C, 1.

deviser qc.,¹ P, 5 (80, 126, 145, 229, 397); Q, 1 (55); C, 0.

douter qc.,² P, 5 (22, *doubtant le reffuz*; 114, 122, 125, 216); Q, 0; C, 0.

desmarcher qu., P, 2 (261, 376); Q, 0; C, 0.

esloigner qc.,³ P, 0; Q, 0; C, 4.

*ensuivre*⁴ *qu.*, *qc.*, P, 5 (8, 27, 49, 57, 108); Q, 0; C, 0.

esjoir qc., P, 1 (101, *les bonnes cheres esjouissent, lient et emprisonnent les cueurs*); Q, 0; C, 0.

hucher qu., P, 0; Q, 0; C, 3.

obeir qu., P⁵, 3 (37, *les sept dons du saint esperit, vous devez croire et obeir*; 98, 331); Q, 0 (*but obeir à*, 111); C, 0.

partir qc., P, 3 (67, *lui et ses biens seront partis*; 211, *il vous partira de l'honneur*; 252); Q, 0; C, 0.

prier à qu., P, 16 (50, 73, 175, 182, etc.); Q, 2 (75, 124).

prier qu., P, 7; Q, 7; Schmidt gives no examples of *prier* in either construction.

sourdre qu., P, 1 (231, *ma dame, avec les autres dames, me vindrent sourdre*); Q, 0; C, 1.

supplier à qu., P, 5 (123, 248, 345, 372, 428); Q, 0; C, 0.

(c) Reflexive verbs no longer used as such :

s'apparoistre, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

s'arriver, personal, P, 1 (417, *quant onques s'estoient là arrivez*); Q, 0; C, 0.

se cesser, P, 1 (229); Q, 0; C, 1.

se commencer, P, 3 (4, 54, 124); Q, 0; C, 0.

se consentir, P, 2 (349, 387); Q, 0; C, 0.

se continuer, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

s'en courir, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se desjeuner, P, 1 (303); Q, 0; C, 0.

se disner, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 1.

se dormir, P, 1 (321); Q, 0; C, 1.

se farcer, P, 1 (320); Q, 0; C, 2.

se feindre, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se loger, P, 2 (145, 312); Q, 0 (always neuter); C, 3.

se partir, P, 10 (18, 93, 150, etc.); Q, 2 (71, 112); C, 5.

¹ With force of *s'entretenir de qc.*

² I. e., *craindre*.

³ I. e., *s'éloigner de qc.*

⁴ Also found with the form *ensuevir*.

⁵ Has also *obeir à*, 119.

se penser, P, 5 (203, 231, 308, 360, 387); Q, 1 (71); C, 2; reflexive *s'appenser* is frequent in P (12, 24, 79, etc.), but has not been noted in Q or C.

se prendre garde, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se revenir, P, 0; Q, 1 (82); C, 0.

se sourdre, P, 0; Q, 0; C, 2.

se tempester, P, 0; Q, 1 (56); C, 0.

s'en venir, P, 0; Q, 4 (124, 128, 130, 131); C, 6.

A marked feature of O. F. syntax is the faculty of omitting the reflexive pronoun with the infinitive, gerund and participle,¹ a trait still retained in N. F. after the verb *faire*. In P this omission is very common: *et sans dormir les convint lever*; 37; 87; 151; 160; 186, *il ne laissoit approucher de luy*; 193, *et s'en allerent en leurs loges desarmer et reposer*; 245, *qui s'en vont à saint Jacques, tres grandement louant du roy*; 309; 348, *il s'en alla laver au dressouer*; 379, *ilz estoient presque pasmez*; 384, 396, etc. This omission occurs even with *l'un l'autre*: 148, *alors luy et moy, tenant l'un l'autre par la main, nous agenouillames*; 176, *messire Enguerrant et Saintré voudrent l'ung l'autre convoyer*; 325. This trait is rare in Q; I have noted only three examples: 18, 27, 114. In C it has not been noticed by Schmidt, nor have I discovered any examples.²

The reflexive construction, for the passive,³ is more extended in P than in N. F., being used with a personal subject: 133, *nous devons nous ayder à un tel jeune escuyer*; *en verité, il se doibt bien aymer*. Note further 124, *les joustes qui se vouloient commencer*. Similar examples are not found in Q or C.

The impersonal form of the passive voice, replacing an active form with *on* or a personal subject, is frequent in P, less common in Q and C. The construction was found, how-

¹ M.-L., § 381; Haase, § 61. For examples in Deschamps, see Voll, 26.

² Commynes agrees with Q; the trait is very rare: cf. Stimming, 493.

³ M.-L., § 382.

ever, as late as the seventeenth century.¹ P, 22, *il luy doit estre pardonné*; 318, *ja n'y seroit chanté ne dances faictes*; 414, *accuse des villainies et mocqueries dont a esté cy devant parlé*;—Q, 17, *comme dit est*; 35, *le gallant vient ainsi comme ordonné lui est par Jehane*; 56, *lui a esté dit d'aucun son amy*.

Of the various periphrases with the gerund² our works show the following:—*Aller* + gerund: P, 261, *incontinent tira son espée, de laquelle à deux mains se va couvrant*; Q, 2, *et pource s'en allerent conquerant pays*; 15, *la dame va criant par la meson*;—C,³ one example. *Estre* + gerund: P, 58, *je ne suis point souvenant avoir leu*; 359, 409, 416;—Q, 32, *elles sont tousjours jouans et saillans*; 118;—C,² four examples.

The use of *faire* as *verbum vicarium*⁴ is about equally common in P and Q. The O. F. usage is fully preserved in both: P, 65, *la goulle tue plus de gens que les cousteaulx ne font*; 100; 141; 203; 222, *quant ma dame le veit, si lui sembla plus bel que oncques n'avoit faict*;—Q, 12; 22, *je me merveille bien, si font mes commeres*; 48, 68, 71, etc. This construction is not mentioned by Schmidt, but it appears in C frequently enough.

Examples of the employment of *estre* to form the compound tenses of the modal auxiliaries when a reflexive infinitive follows,⁵ appear in each work: P, 88, *puis que ainsi est, que de nulle de nous ne vous estes tant voulu fier*; 386, *ma tres redoubtée dame, qui tant s'est voulu incliner que de prendre la patience avec son pauvre moynne*;—Q, 126, *le meschant ne s'est peu tenir aujourd'hui de venir deux fois*.⁶ C has two examples with *savoir*, one with *pouvoir*.

¹ Haase, § 58.² M.-L., § 312-317.³ Schmidt, 66.⁴ Diez, 1068, 1084.⁵ M.-L., § 296; Tobler, VB., II, 37.⁶ Cf. also Q, 115: *en la nasse où ils estoient cuidé entrer*.

In C¹ three examples of the use of *avoir* to form the compound tenses of verbs of motion, *aller*, *entrer*, *arriver*, occur. No such cases are found in P or Q.

B. *Person and Number.*

In general, P keeps almost wholly to the O. F. usage, according to which the verb agrees with the subject nearest to it, and which permitted constructions *ad sensum* more freely than is allowed in N. F. With a preceding multiple subject, the verb is frequently in the singular: 24, *amours d'enfance et ignorance y ouvroit*; 25, *quel bien, quel prouffit, quel honneur . . . vous en peult advenir*; 207, *leur amour et estat dura*; 341, 356, etc. A long multiple subject, consisting of proper names, is frequently summed up by *chascun*; in this case the verb agrees with the latter:² 112, *monseigneur, ma dame et messeigneurs mes beaulx oncles de Berry et Bourgongne et autres seigneurs et dames de nostre sang, chascun vous aydera*; 291, *des grants regrets que le roy et la royne, messeigneurs, dames et damoysselles et chascun fait d'eulx*; 142, *mesdits seigneurs, qui tres bonnes parolles chascun luy dist*. On the other hand, when *chascun* is followed by partitive *de* with a plural noun, the verb is often plural: 234, *chascun des seigneurs ducs leur baillèrent leurs lances*.

None of these licenses is found in Q. In C, Schmidt³ cites five examples of a singular verb following a multiple subject, but in each case the subject nouns are nearly synonymous, a construction still permissible.⁴

When the verb precedes a multiple subject, it is regularly singular in P, as in O. F.:⁵ 44, *si veult nature, droit et raison*; 112, *là où estoit nostre Dame et son enfant*; 353, *là*

¹Schmidt, 67.

²M.-L., § 343-44; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 230 ff.; Mätzner, 380.

³Page 47.

⁴Mätzner, 380.

⁵Haase, *V. und J.*, 79.

fut le vin et les especes apareillés; 354, *où estoit le dressouer et les tables mises*; 357, *illec fut damp Abbez et les prieurs remercier ma dame*. Q has again no example of this construction, and C¹ has but two. The present rule is predominant in both.

With a collective noun as subject, P has frequently a plural verb, as in O. F.² So always with *la plus grant partie*: 167, *la plus grant partie prient Dieu qu'il luy feust en ayde*; 301, 302. Also with other collectives: 308, *le grant trait des canons et coulevrines . . . grandement les endommageoient*; 311, *la grant bataille des Chrestiens virent la derniere bataille des Turcs*; 311, *l'arriere-garde frapperent au travers*; 349, *dont toute la compaignie jaçoit ce qu'ilz fussent bien desjeunez, si en furent ilz. tres joyeux*. Q has a single example with *la plus grant partie*: 112, *il y en a la plus grant partie qui ne se povent partir de joute leurs femmes*. C³ has two examples of the syllepsis *compaignie*—*ilz*, otherwise both follow the modern rule.

Constructions *ad sensum* are also frequent in P. Thus when a prepositional phrase denoting accompaniment is joined to the subject,⁴ the verb is in the plural: 138, *vostre dueil, allié du mien, ont tant assailly et combatu mon cueur*; 140, *Saintré, atout sa compaignie, vindrent prendre congié du roy*; 231, *ma dame, avec les autres dames, me vindrent sourdre*. A further peculiarity of P's syntax is the fact that with *l'un à l'autre*, etc., the verb is always plural, no matter whether the subject precedes or follows: 185, *l'ung contre l'autre desmarcherent et combatirent*; 185, *lors commencerent l'ung sur l'autre à ferir*; 193, *lors prindrent congié l'ung de l'autre*; 204, *lors commencerent l'ung à l'autre festoyer*;

¹Schmidt, 47. In Commynes, however, the singular is frequent. Cf. Stimming, 195.

²Diez, 981; Haase, *V. und J.*, 79.

³Schmidt, 45.

⁴M.-L., § 347; Haase, 159.

232; 394, *lors l'ung devant l'autre furent*, etc. None of these peculiar constructions is found in Q or C. With collectives P's usage agrees with that of Chartier.¹

In relative sentences, after *un de* + a plural noun, the verb is regularly in the singular² in Q and C.³ Q, 89, *une des grans douleurs cui soit sur terre*; 130, 131. No examples occur in P.

Attraction of the relative to the subject of the preceding clause⁴ is found in P: 285, *moy qui suis celui qui tant vous ay aymée*;—Q, 65, *si je fusse femme qui me gouvernasse mauvesement*. C⁵ has three similar examples. A more violent attraction occurs in P: 325, *je vueil estre de tous qui cy sommes le maindre*.

A different violation of the modern rule for agreement in a relative clause occurs in P:⁶ 24, *icy n'a que vous et moy qui nous peust ouyr*; 52, *cy n'a que vous et moy qui nous puisse ouyr*. No such cases are found in Q or C.

Agreement with the logical subject in impersonal constructions,⁷ where N. F. prefers the singular, is found frequently in P and C, never in Q: P, 74, *et par ainsi ne luy restoient plus que deux escuz*; 227, *ilz ne sont hommes nulz qui mieulx le secussent faire*; 341, *car sont plus de seize ans que nous n'y fusmes*; 377, 389, 403, 428. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 47.

C. *The Tenses.*

The distinctions now recognized in the employment of the past tenses were by no means fixed in the fifteenth century.

¹ Eder, 119. For Commynes' usage, cf. Stimming, 194. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 231, cites similar cases of agreement with *l'un vers l'autre* from O. F. I have been unable to discover any later examples.

² As in O. F. Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 239.

³ Schmidt, 46.

⁴ Cf. Haase, *Zur Syntax Robert Garniers*, 39.

⁵ Schmidt, 46.

⁶ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 460.

⁷ This construction is the rule in Froissart. Cf. Riese, *Recherches sur l'usage syntaxique de Froissart*, Halle, 1880, p. 17.

As, however, no noticeable differences can be established in the usage of the three works which concern us here, I have thought it useless to accumulate examples of the confusion observable. I may notice briefly the fact that in P and C¹ a change in tense from past to historical present or *vice versa*, in the same sentence, occurs more frequently than in Q.

D. *The Moods.*

In independent clauses of wish or command, the subjunctive is used, as in O. F.,² without introductory *que*: P, 29, 39, 60, 66, 72; 75, *Dieu doint bonne vie à ma dame*; 82, 89, 119, 137, 138, etc.;—Q, 8, *or avant, fait il, y aille pour ceste fois*; 27, 28, 51, 106, 130. The modern construction with *que* occurs also, somewhat more frequently in P than in Q: P, 62, *que les hommes de sang s'esloignent de moy*; 86, 100, 132, 141, etc.; Q, 38, *que la malle boce s'y puisse ferir*; 128.

Likewise the subjunctive appears in independent (paratactic) concessive sentences:³ P, 287, *vous priant tous que chascun, perte ou gaingne, que soyez honorablement*;—Q, 21, *pour ce en convient avoir, en ait ou non*; 106, *et ira, face pluye ou gresle*; 109.

Peculiar to P and Q is the use of the paratactic concessive subjunctive with *tant*:⁴ P, 34, *et ne peult la noblesse, tant soit elle grande ne puissant, surmonter la mort*; 225, 398, 428;—Q, 9, *il n'avoit personne, tant fust elle de petit estat, qui fust si mal abillée comme je estoie*; 25, 65, 80. Similar examples do not apparently occur in C, though they are found as late as the seventeenth century.⁵

In substantive subject clauses the employment of the

¹Schmidt, 48.

²M.-L., § 117. For C, cf. Schmidt, 49–50.

³M.-L., p. 584; see Schmidt, 50, for examples in C.

⁴Cf. Johannsen, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁵Haase, § 45, G.

indicative and subjunctive is essentially the same as in N. F. A few examples may be noted of the indicative in impersonal expressions: ¹ P, 112, *puisque Dieu plaist que estes tant en grace*; 154, *il a pleu à Dieu que mon emprise est premiere-ment venue en voz mains*; 190, *bien semble qu'il est de noble lieu party*;—Q, 10, *c'estoit grant honte que je n'estoye mieulx abillée*; 106, *quelque tort qu'elle ait, il lui semble qu'elle ait droit et qu'elle est sage*. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 52.

In object clauses with verbs of thought and expression the subjunctive is still common, as in O. F.² Wherever a subjective doubt is possible, the subjunctive occurs of right: P, 19, *il pensa qu'elle eust toute sa promesse mise en oubly*; 390, *quant à moy, je croy qu'il soit ainsi*; 403, *je cuide qu'il soit mal de moy à cause de la lucte*;—Q, 3, *comme il cuide que les aultres soient*; 46, *mais je croy qu'il ne soit homme au monde si doulx ne si gracieulx comme vous*. For C, see Schmidt, 52.

An occasional indicative with verbs of will and emotion is found in P and Q: P, 44, *si veult nature, droit et raison qu'elle l'en doit trop mieulx aymer*; 365, *je plains que ma dame n'est cy*;—Q, 63, *elle tant est courrocée que leurs maistres sont liens*; 124, *si suy moult esbahie que ton mary ne le tua*.³

In relative clauses depending on a superlative the indicative appears several times in P: 195, *cent aulnes de la plus fine toille de Reims qu'il avoit peu finer*; 323; 341; 422, *en la meilleure façon et maniere qu'il sceut*. In such clauses Q has the subjunctive uniformly, but C⁴ has one example of the indicative. Worthy of note is the employment of the

¹ Cf. M.-L., § 666.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 445, 1.

³ The forms *dictes, faictes*, which are found in object-clauses after *prier, adjurer* (P, 320; Q, 48, 75), are probably subjunctives. Cf. Tobler, VB., I, 29.

⁴ Schmidt, 51.

indicative in a relative clause after an indefinite antecedent : Q, 118, *il n'est chose qui plus desplaist à jeunes homes que une vieille femme*. A distinctive O. F. trait in P and Q, not found in C, is the use of a relative clause for a concessive :¹ P, 219, *dont ilz devroient jouter et donner la mesure telle qui luy plaisoyt* ; 366, *luy baille sa lectre de response à la royne, qui fut telle qui s'ensuyt* ;—Q, 8, *de tieulx abillemens que à l'aventure son mary n'a pas paiez* ; 24, *il n'est home si enragé que sa femme ne face franc et debonnaire* ; 65.

In respect to the construction in temporal clauses, P contains a single example of the indicative with *ains que* :² 100, *ains qu'il fut ung mois accompli, il eut varletz*. Q and C have uniformly the subjunctive in such clauses. Peculiar to C³ is the temporal use of *comme*, with both indicative and subjunctive.

In concessive clauses the deviations from N. F. usage are more marked. As in O. F. either the indicative or the subjunctive is employed, according to the subjective conception.⁴ Nevertheless it should be noted that in P and Q the indicative is relatively more common than in C. With *combien que* P employs the subjunctive : 17, *combien que feussent vrayes* (so 28, 88, 46, 141, 212, 216, 268) ; the indicative : 5, *combien que sa personne estoit et feust tousjours linge et menue* (so 44, 57, 99, 105, 186, 202, 238, 394) ;—Q has the subjunctive : 21, *combien qu'il ait mis grant paine à la trouver* (so 36, 53, 59, 135) ; the indicative : 7, *combien qu'il a aises et plaisances largement* (so 9, 25, 27, etc. : 16 examples in all) ;—C⁵ has 11 examples of *combien que* with

¹ M.-L., 638 ; cf. also Strohmeyer, *Über verschiedene Functionen des altfranzösischen Relativsatzes*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 21 ff.

² For similar cases in O. F., cf. Mätschke, *Die Nebensätze der Zeit im Altfranzösischen*, Kiel, 1887, p. 46.

³ Schmidt, 51.

⁴ M.-L., § 673 ; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 447, vi.

⁵ Schmidt, 50.

the indicative, otherwise the subjunctive. With *mais que*, P has the subjunctive: 13, *mais que soyons en la chambre, nous rirons* (so 19, 24, 65, 75, 83, 258, 417); the indicative: 345, *ma dame delibere d'y aller, mais que la presse et foison du peuple fut passée*, so 407, *je les vouldroye avoir maintenant, mais que en coffres et en sacz les me faictes apporter*;—Q and C¹ have the subjunctive invariably. With *jaçoit ce que*, P has the subjunctive: 47 and 49, *jaçoit ce que'ilz ne soient de corps ne de gens d'armes les plus fors* (so 153, 157, 200, 207, 211, 244, 302, 349, 406); the indicative or conditional: 45, *jaçoit ce qu'on pourroit dire*, so 91 and 150, *jaçoit ce que plusieurs aultres sont icy en vostre court* (so 192, 211, 335, 425);—Q has the subjunctive: 58, *jaçoit ce qu'elle soit preude femme*; the indicative: 58, *jaçoit ce qu'elle est bien aise*. C² contains one example of *jaçoit ce que* with the conditional, else invariably the subjunctive. We have thus eighteen examples of the indicative in concessive sentences in P, seventeen in Q, twelve in C. Q is relatively the most archaic.

It may furthermore be noted that P contains one example of concessive *par — que*: 265, *par armes que vous ayez faictes . . . n'avez volu estre chevalier*. Concessive *pour — que*³ is common in all three works. Q, moreover, has one example of the O. F. concessive *comme que*:⁴ 61, *et savoy-je bien, fait elle, que vous en eussiez affaire? Comme que⁵ elle les avoit envoiez tout en essayant et par despit du bon homme*.

Conditional sentences.⁶ In unreal conditions of present time, the modern construction (*si j'avais, je donnerais*) is the rule in each. Of the O. F. construction with the imperfect subjunctive in one or both clauses, we find the following

¹ Schmidt, 50.² Schmidt, 51.³ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, II, 20 ff.⁴ Cf. Johannssen, *op. cit.*, 31.⁵ In the *editio princeps* replaced by *combien que* + the subjunctive.⁶ Cf. M.-L., §§ 681-690; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 447, v.

examples :—With the imperfect subjunctive in both clauses : P, 31, *oncques dame d'honneur ne peust aymer homme envieux, se ne feust les bonnes vertuz pour en estre le meilleur* ; 86 ;—Q, 17, *si ce ne fust vostre honneur et le mien, je n'en parlasse ja* ; 32, 37, 54, 90 ;—C¹ has four examples of this construction. It will be seen that Q is relatively more archaic than P or C.—Imperfect subjunctive in the protasis, conditional in the apodosis : P, 15, *et si j'en eusse, je le diroye volentiers* ; 129, 287, 391 ;—no examples in Q, one in C.¹—Imperfect indicative in the protasis, imperfect subjunctive in the apodosis : no examples in P, two in Q (30, 130), one in C.¹

In unreal conditions of past time, the O. F. usage is fully preserved. No examples are found with the perfect conditional. For sentences with the pluperfect subjunctive in both clauses, see P, 172, 177, 231, 413 ;—Q, 16, 45, 86, 130. Of more interest in this connection is the retention of the imperfect subjunctive in its original O. F. function as a pluperfect :² P, 309, *se ne fust l'ayde de Dieu, et qu'il fust bien secouru, sans nul remede il estoit mort* ; 396 ; 420 ;—Q, 40, *ses parens l'eussent plus haultement mariée, si ce ne fust ung petit eschapeillon qu'elle avoit fait en sa jeunesse* ; 93 ;—C has four examples.³

In incomplete conditions with *comme si*,³ the subjunctive is the invariable rule in Q and C, while P has three examples with the indicative : 211, 377, 384.

The present subjunctive is found occasionally in P in *si*-clauses,⁴ to express wish or future contingency : 131, *se Dieu vous doint joye, nous vous prions que puissions voir voz paremens* ; 247, *se Dieu vous gard* ; 399, *s'aucune malle vueillance ou nouvelle en adviegne, il s'en excusera et deschargera du tout sur vous*. In Q this is found only in the old formula *si m'aist Dieu* (17, 25).

¹ Schmidt, 53.² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 454.³ Schmidt, 54.⁴ M.-L., § 685 ; cf. Bischoff, *Der Conjunctiv bei Chrestien*, Halle, s. d., pp. 11, 12.

Peculiar to P is the retention of the O. F. hypothetical subjunctive in incomplete exclamatory conditions : 287, *lors ouyssiez de tous coustez cueurs tendrement souspirer et veissiez yeulx de toutes gens plourer* ; 290, 309, 333, 336, 411, 417.¹ No traces of this construction exist in Q or C.

E. *The Infinitive.*

The use of the infinitive as a substantive was very widespread in O. F., but has since that period been much restricted.² In the fifteenth century this usage is still common in Chartier,³ less so in Villon, and quite rare in Commynes.⁴ Here a noticeable distinction is to be observed between P and C⁵ on one hand, and Q on the other. In the two former the infinitive-substantive is still very common, being used not only with the definite article, but also with pronouns and adjectives ; it may also take an object or an adverbial modifier, just like a verb : P, 36, *pour le departir* ; 42, *luxure est ardeur à l'assembler, puantise au departir* ; 151, *au prendre congîé* ; 158, *ne cessa le deviser de la beauté de Sainttré* ; 167, *tant de l'aller que tu venir* ; 189, *le parler* ; 215, *au lever des cercles* ; 227, *pour l'arriver* ; 425, *le commencer de parler d'icelle dame remist à elle* ; 25, *au long aller* ; 101, *par le faulx parler des dames* ; 27, *nul deshonneste parler* ; 31, *ce bien vivre* ; 32, *ce revoir* ; 48, *à l'entrer des armes* ; 98, *vostre chevaucher* ; 118, *à l'asseoir des tables* ; 154, *vostre vouloir* ; 168, *à ce rompre de lances* ; 171, *au joindre des lances* ; 173, *à cause du ferir bas* ; 311, *avant le commencer des armes* ; 234, *son partir* ; 211, *le bouter de son espée* ; 362, *son dormyr* ; 387, *au premier prier* ; 389, *vostre*

¹ This construction is especially common in the O. F. epics ; cf. Quiehl, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunctivs in den ältesten franz. Sprachdenkmälern*, Kiel, 1888, p. 40.

² M.-L., § 16 ; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 448.

³ Eder, 93.

⁴ Stimming, 491.

⁵ See Schmidt, 55-56.

cuyder ; 403, *et n'y vault le prier du seigneur de Saintré*, etc. But in Q, I have discovered only three examples of this infinitive: 3, *qu'ilz ont sentu au flayrer* ; 56, *au long aller* ; 82, *telle paine que le bon homme aura eu à l'aller, il l'aura au revenir*.

P has, moreover, some examples of the infinitive-substantive with a subject:¹ 228, *au departir l'ung de l'autre* ; 254, *au departir les ungs des aultres* ;—no cases in Q or C.

A frequent variety of this construction in P and C, unknown to Q, is the employment of the infinitive-substantive with *à* and a relative clause containing the verb *faire*, as the equivalent of a temporal clause:² P, 78, *au retourner qu'ilz firent* ; 122, *au saillir que le roy fist* ; 124, *au revenir qu'elle eut fait* ; 145, 153, 155, 169, 185, 186, 224, 234, 361. C³ has six examples of this construction.

The use of the infinitive with accusative, rare in O. F., but common in the sixteenth century,⁴ is rare in P and Q, but common in C: P, 63, *si je sçavoie les dieux n'avoir point de congnoissance* ;⁵ 213, *disans estre tres desplaisant qu'elle ne les entendoit* ; 317, *lequel service voulons et ordonnons estre ainsi continué* ; 329, *je me congnois si grandement avoir mespris* ;—Q, 5, *lesquelles ceulx qui sont mariés ne croient nulles aultres joyes estre pareilles*. C⁶ has eighteen examples of this construction.

The simple infinitive is used as the subject of impersonal verbs, as in O. F.⁷, in each of the works. So with *plaire*: P, 19, 93, 123, etc. (15 examples) ; Q, 5, 100, 102 ;—*convenir*: P, 18, 243, 301, 354, 403, 417 ; Q, 8, 21. In C⁸ however seven examples of the modern construction with *de* are found, to one in P: 407, *quant vous plaira de les avoir* ;

¹ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 90.

² Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 24.

³ Schmidt, 55.

⁴ Darmesteter, § 204; cf. also Tobler, *VB.*, I, 88 ff.

⁵ Translation from Seneca.

⁶ Schmidt, 57.

⁷ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 449, 1; M.-L., §§ 339-40.

⁸ Schmidt, 58.

and one in Q: 17, *bien que à ma cousine ou ma commere ne plaist point d'y venir*. P has also retained the O. F. construction with *falloir*¹ in two cases: 288, *de celle ne fault point à parler*; 428, *et ne fault mye à demander s'elle estoit bien honteuse*.

P has likewise several examples of the simple infinitive used as the logical subject or predicate with the verb *estre*: 63, *trop seroit longue chose . . . les vouloir toutes exposer*; 154, *se vostre vouloir estoit me quicter du scelle de ma promesse*; 334, *supplyant que vostre bon plaisir soit la nous laisser poursuivre*; 429, *quant le plaisir de Dieu fut à soy vouloir prendre son ame*. Q has a single example of this construction: 119, *or considerez si c'est bien fait mettre deux choses contraires ensemble*. C has no instances of this construction with nouns, but several with adjectival expressions like *il est force*, *il est necessaire*, etc.

In comparative clauses after *que* (*quam*) our works have generally the simple infinitive: P, 17, *Saintré, qui ne pensoit pas moins que estre deshonnouré*; 234;—Q, 1, *c'est plus grant felicité de vivre en franchise et liberté que soi asservir*; 39, *nul ne se peut plus gaster que soy enveloper en ces deux liens*. C² has two examples. The infinitive with *de* is also found: P, 20, 52, 386, 419; Q, 5, 124. After *aimer mieux que*, *valoir mieux que*, the simple infinitive is the invariable rule in P and Q: P, 33, 49, 362, etc.; Q, 2, 23, 64, 92; while in C³ four examples with *de* are found.

The object infinitive with verbs.—Here I shall note only the chief cases of differing constructions in the three works:⁴—

attendre, with *à*, Q, 19, 65, 80; with simple inf., C, one example.

s'attendre, with *à*, Q, 19; with simple inf., C, one example.

accoustumer, with *de*, P, 65; with *à*, Q, 6, 23, 44, 48, 88; with simple inf., Q, 17, 32, 34; in C always with *de*.

¹ Tobler, *VB.*, I, 214.

² Schmidt, 59.

³ Schmidt, 60.

⁴ For examples in C, cf. Schmidt, 59–62.

- advertir*, with simple inf., P, 91; always with *de* in Q and C.
- apprendre*, with *de*, C, two ex., always with *à* in P.
- avancer*, always with *à* in P, always with *de* in C.
- commander*, generally with the simple inf.; P has two ex. with *à*: 188, 262; C one with *de*.
- commencer*, in P, 16 ex. with *à* to one with simple inf. (351); in Q always with *à*; in C with *à* or *de*, as in N. F.
- deliberer*, in P one ex. with *à* (412); in Q always with *de*; in C one ex. with simple inf.
- desirer*, in P with simple inf.: 216, 234, 404; with *à*, 15, 17; with *de*, 317, 325, 359;—in Q with simple inf., 2, 31; with *de*, 118;—C has all three constructions.
- emprendre*, with *de*, P, 112, 115, 246, 330; with *à*, P, 146;—in Q always with *à* (78, etc.);—in C one ex. with *de*.
- s'efforcer*, in P, five ex. with *de*, one with *à* (105); in C with *de*.
- entendre*, in P with *de*: 73, 353; with *à*: 359, 411; with simple inf.: 183, 211, 338, 357;—in Q with *à*: 62;—in C one ex. with *à*, one with simple inf.
- se garder*, in P with simple inf.: 337, 359;—in C always with *de*.
- laisser*, in P always with *à*: 60, 193, 201, 218, etc.;—in Q with *à*: 69, 74, 86; with *de*: 6;—in C only one ex. with *à*.
- mander*, in P with simple inf.: 111, 368; elsewhere with *de*.
- offrir*, always with *à* in P and Q; C has one ex. with *de*.
- ordonner*, in P with simple inf., five ex.: 224, 234, etc.; with *de*, five ex.: 159, 205, etc.; with *à*, four ex.: 6, 92, etc.;—in Q with simple inf.: 25;—in C one ex. with simple inf.
- prier*, generally with *de* as in N. F.: P has one ex. with *à* (133), one with simple inf. (240); C, one ex. with simple inf.
- penser*, invariably with *de* in P and C, as in O. F.;—in Q with *de*: 31, 87, 123; with *à*: 23, 40.
- promettre*, always with *de* in P; in Q, one ex. with simple inf. (50); in C, three ex. with simple inf.
- requerir*, in P with *à*: 203, 399;—in Q and C always with *de*.
- sembler*, with *de*: P, 257;—elsewhere as in N. F.
- tenir*, in P with *de*: 209, 210, 225; with simple inf.: 210;—in Q and C always with *à*.

The infinitive with *de*, employed as the subject of a following verb,¹ is found in P: 309, *de les nommer seroit trop longue chose*;—and in C;²—never in Q.

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 450.

² Schmidt, 60.

The so-called historical infinitive with *de*¹ is extremely common in C,² while there are but three examples in P: 171, *et alors les trompettes de sonner et les criz du peuple*; 173, 329;—and none in Q. This is not an O. F. trait.

The locution *faire à* + the infinitive,³ expressing necessity, occurs once in P: 396, *bien fait à reprendre le cueur d'ung gentilhomme qui, pour une lucte, n'ose soubztenir sa loyaulté*;—nine times in C,⁴ never in Q.

I may note also the fact that C⁴ construes *aimer mieux* with *à* three times; this is never found in P or Q.

Avant with the simple infinitive is found once in C,⁵ but: P, 404, *avant que de descendre*; Q, 4, *avant que perdre franchise*.

Devant que + infinitive occurs once in P (168), never in Q or C.

En + infinitive is found once in P: 106, *employez vostre temps soit en conquestes d'armes, soit en services de seigneurs, ou en estre servy*;—once also in C,⁵ never in Q.

Par with the infinitive, a construction still common in the seventeenth century,⁶ is found twice in P (30, 108), once in Q (5), but eleven times in C.⁵

P also contains two examples of *estre pour* + the infinitive, expressing a near futurity:⁷ 157, *et quant je fuz pour monter à cheval, il m'envoya quarante florins*; 332. No similar cases occur in Q or C.

F. The Gerund and Present Participle.

In Old French the gerund was as a rule always kept distinct from the present participle, and not inflected. First

¹ M.-L., § 529; cf. also Marcou, *Der historische Infinitiv im Französischen*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 13-14.

² Schmidt, 61.

³ Diez, 937.

⁴ Schmidt, 62.

⁵ Schmidt, 63.

⁶ Haase, 207.

⁷ Diez, 940; a common Romance construction.

in the fourteenth century a confusion set in, the gerund becoming inflected like the verbal adjective, and this confusion lasted till the seventeenth century.¹ The so-called participial gerund is not uncommon in all three works. P and Q agree in usage very nearly, while in C the uninflected form is relatively more frequent. Of the uninflected form P contains 16 examples with a feminine singular, 6 with a feminine plural, 9 with a masculine plural—total 31; Q contains 9 with a feminine singular, 2 with a feminine plural, 2 with a masculine plural—total 13; C (100 pages) has 39 with a feminine singular, 1 with a feminine plural, 2 with a masculine plural—total 42. Of the inflected forms, P contains 3 with a feminine singular (with the ending *-ans*), none with a feminine plural, 19 with a masculine plural—total 22; Q contains none with a feminine singular, 3 with a feminine plural (with the ending *-ans*), 4 with a masculine plural—total 7; C has none with a feminine singular, 6 with a feminine plural (*-ans*), 5 with a masculine plural—total 11. The proportion of uninflected to inflected forms is thus in P, $1\frac{4}{10}:1$; in Q, $1\frac{9}{10}:1$; in C, $3\frac{8}{10}:1$.²

A further distinction is the fact that in P the ending *-ans* is found with singular nouns, both masculine and feminine, a last remnant of the O. F. case-system; 21, *lors à jointes mains estans tousjours à genoulx, requist de rechief à ma dame merci*; 200, *tres desirans de son retour, ma dame . . .*; 213, *la royne . . . leur demanda des dames et estas de leurs pays, disans estre tres desplaisant qu'elle ne les entendist*; 11, 288,

¹ M.-L., § 500; Haase, § 91; cf. also Klemenzen, *Der syntactische Gebrauch des Participium Praesentis und des Gerundiums im Altfranzösischen*, Breslau, 1884, pp. 26 ff.; Vogels, *Roman. Studien*, v, 534-556.

² I believe that the prevalence of the modern rule in C is due mostly to the fact that it is more popular in style and has fewer literary pretensions than P or Q. The use of the inflected gerund, in Old and Middle French, was more or less a Latinism; cf. Vogels, *loc. cit.*, p. 535.

336, etc. In Q only one example is found: 6, *ainsi, regardans cestes peines . . . considerans la repugnence . . . me suy delicté à escripve icelles quinze joyes*;—and in C none. The latter, however, contains two examples of the feminine plural in *-antes*,¹ not found in P or Q.

Q contains one example of inflected prepositional *durant*: 5, *durans les sains mysieres*.

Of present participles with passive force,² I have noted the following examples in P: 200, *Guillaume, qui est bien entendant*; 336, *Saintré et ses compaignons ordonnerent une tres belle lectre d'armes, adressans à la court de l'empereur*; 391, *le seigneur de Saintré, tres desplaisant de la charge et injure que donnoit aux gentils hommes damp Abbez*.

P likewise shows several remnants of the O. F. use of the gerund as a case of the infinitive;³ thus it may be used with a preposition, taking the article: 263, *au clinssant qu'elle (la lance) fist*; or may have a subject expressed: 263, *devant le roy de France, en gardant Dieu son corps de peine et loyal exoine, il accompliroit sa requeste*. Such examples are unknown to Q and C.⁴

P also contains many examples of the free use of the gerund, not referring to the subject or object:⁵ 99, *et en disant ces parolles (l'escuyer), tous (les pages) furent despouillez et s'en vont couchier*; 264, *et en combatant l'ung contre l'autre, fortune voulut . . .*; 384, *et en disant ces mots (la dame), le seigneur de Saintré prestement descendit*. I have noted no similar cases in Q, and in C they are very rare.

In regard to the omission of *en* before the gerund, where N. F. usage demands it, P is again more archaic.⁶ Thus in 100 pages, P has 17 examples of the gerund with *en*, to 6

¹ Schmidt, 65.

² Tobler, *VB.*, I, 36 ff.

³ M.-L., § 498; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 51-52.

⁴ And also to Chartier and Commynes.

⁵ M.-L., § 499; Huguet, 219.

⁶ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 457, I.

without *en*; Q has 23 with to 5 without; and in C, judging by the examples given by Schmidt, page 65, the proportion is about the same as in Q.

Lastly I may note P's peculiar use of the present participle, adverbially modified, as a noun: 118, *le mieulx dansant*; 119, *les mieulx chantans*, etc. Similar examples are found in Deschamps.¹

G. *The Perfect Participle.*

In respect to the agreement of the perfect participle with *avoir*,² the O. F. usage is much more thoroughly preserved in P than in Q and C. Namely, we find in P 23 examples of the participle agreeing with a following noun-object: 58, *qui ait volentiers accomplies les oeuvres de misericorde*; 96, *les services et gracieusetez ont avancez voz jours*; 120, 140, 149, 202, 216, 227, etc. Q, on the other hand, has but three such cases. 85, *qui avoit fort entretenue la guerre*; 96; 103;—and C³ only seven. P here agrees in usage with Deschamps,⁴ and is more archaic than Chartier,⁵ who has only a few similar examples.

In the common word-order, auxiliary-object-participle, agreement is the rule in P, in which there are in all twelve examples: 18, *quant Saintré eut les autres enfans ses compaignons trouvés* (so 20, 21, 23, 51, 71, 117, etc.); and one of non-agreement (19);—while in Q, in which this word-order is rare, not one example of agreement is found. C,³ in turn, has seven cases of this usage.

Likewise in the position, object-auxiliary-participle, or participle-object-auxiliary, P generally shows agreement: 46, *les rois telles batailles ont ordonnées*; 62, *tant d'autres petites misericordes nous a il recommandées*; 354, *que ses*

¹ Bode, 75.

² M.-L., § 416.

³ Schmidt, 67.

⁴ Bode, 77.

⁵ Eder, 142.

dueilz aroit oubliez; 81, *comme si jamais veue ne l'eust*. Q has no examples of such constructions, C only one.¹

Of cases of non-agreement with a preceding pronominal object P has six examples: 34, *celle tres glorieuse vertu de charité qui est fille de Dieu et qu'il nous a tant recommandé*; 50, 198, 211, 223, 236;—Q has two: 82, *telle paine que le bon homme aura eu*; 110, *pour les maux qu'il a souffry*;—while C shows fourteen.² It will be noticed that C has a tendency to leave the participle invariable in all positions.

Non-agreement of the participle when used with *estre* is never found in P. It occurs once (possibly twice³) in Q: 104, *le pere et la mere sont tant courrocé que c'est merveilles*;—and twice in C.⁴

Each work has a single example of agreement of the participle with the object of a dependant infinitive: P, 404, *à la requeste d'elle ne l'eust daignée plus aymen*; Q, 125, *pourquoy je vous ay envoiées querir*.

In P alone is found a single example of the old rule of the agreement of the participle of reflexive verbs with the subject:⁵ 418, *et à tant laisseray cy à parler de ma dame et de la guerison de damp Abbez, qui par l'espace de deux ans s'estoient donnez du bon temps ensemble*.

The absolute perfect participle is about equally common in all three works. But the construction by which a predicative participle is employed with the noun-object of a temporal preposition⁶ is found in P and C,⁷ not in Q: P, 103, *apres la messe ouye, Jehan de Saintré ne cessa qu'il eust les palefreniers*; 213, *avant les espices venues*; 116, 140, 146, 196, etc. For examples in C, see Schmidt, 68.

¹Schmidt, 67.

²Schmidt, 66.

³The sentence: 112, *l'amour de ses enfans est oublié*, is doubtful, owing to the change of gender of *amour*.

⁴Schmidt, 68.

⁵M.-L., §§ 295, 416; Tobler, VB., II, 51 ff.

⁶Tobler, VB., I, 113 ff.

⁷Schmidt, 68. Schmidt ends his study of C's syntax at this point.

ADVERBS.

A. *Adverbs of Negation.*

In respect to the use of the negative particles *pas*, *point*,¹ P is again more conservative than Q and C, which are here very nearly in harmony. An enumeration of the negative sentences in the first fifty pages of each gave the following results:—

<i>ne</i> alone, in a principal clause :	P, 19 ; Q, 21 ; C, 12.
<i>ne</i> alone, in a subordinate clause :	P, 17 ; Q, 22 ; C, 16.
<i>ne</i> <i>pas</i> :	P, 25 ; Q, 59 ; C, 61.
<i>ne</i> <i>point</i> :	P, 15 ; Q, 34 ; C, 7.
<i>ne</i> <i>mie</i> :	P, 2 ; Q, 0 ; C, 0.

Or, as a total, P contains 36 cases of *ne* alone to 40 of *ne* with a negative complement ; Q, 43 to 93 ; C, 28 to 68. In other words, the negative particles *pas*, *point*, are employed twice as frequently in Q and C as in P.

Worthy of note is further the fact that the particle *mie* is very frequently employed in P, but is unknown to Q and rare in C: P, 8, *et ne le font mie pour l'amour de Dieu* ; 332, *il ne dit mye de la sienne*, etc. ;—C, 1, 3, 381, etc.

The tonic form of the negation is used with a verb in all three works.² Here a distinction is apparent between P and C on the one hand, Q on the other. In the two former, tonic *non* is employed with the infinitive, gerund, and with finite verb-forms often in *emphatic* responses: P, 13, *esse la contenance d'un escuyer de bien que de non convoier les dames* ; 21, *non faisoient nulle des autres* ; 67, *gardez de non oublier les richesses des cieulx* ; 76, *ma mere, dist il, non ay vrayement* ; 82, *non sera il* ; 83 ; 89 ; 94 ; 186, *messire Enguerrant, non sentant le meschief qu'il avoit* ; 200 ; 222 ; 319 ; 321, *il vous a dit la verité. Non a, dist elle* ; 403 ;—C, 1, 3, *veez cy*

¹ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 484 ; M.-L., § 193.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 480 ; Huguet, 259 ff. ; Bode, 85 ; Eder, 149.

ja retourné de son voyage bon mary, non querant ceste si bonne aventure; 26; 31, *pour non resister*; 33, *par ma foy, non ay*; 34; 37; 40; etc. In Q, however, tonic *non* is found only with the verb *faire*, in emphatic responses: 11, *non fais, sire, fait elle*; 43, *certes, m'amie, fera il, non feray*; 47, 48, 102, 129. Q's usage agrees nearly with that of Commynes.¹

The use of the negative particle *point*, without *ne*, in interrogative sentences,² occurs rarely in each of the works: P, 318, *estes vous . . . point changié*; 407, *avez vous point desjeuné*;—Q, 77, *ma cousine m'avoit demandé si je auroye point de robe à mes levailles*;—C, I, 25, *madame demande s'il l'avoit point senty*.

The so-called expletive *ne* in dependant clauses³ is found omitted, (a) after verbs of fearing in P and Q, (b) in comparative clauses in Q alone: P, 381, *il doubta qu'elle fut malade*; 403, *doubtant que vouldissiez faire ung trop grant et excessif appareil*;—Q, 54, *j'ay paour que elle me descouvra à son mary*; 73, 103, 113;—Q, 12, *pleust à Dieu qu'il ne vous en tenist jamés plus qu'il fait à moy*. Contrary to modern usage, this *ne* is employed in P and C after the verb *defendre*:⁴ P, 15, *et encores vous deffens que ne soyez noy-seux*;—C, II, 115, *et de fait luy deffendit par motz exprès et menasses que jamais ne se trovast s'il ne luy mandoit*.

B. Other Adverbs.

The O. F. adverb *enz*⁵ (*intus*) is used once in P: 76, *et quant ilz furent entrez enz*;—twice in C: I, 173; II, 241;—never in Q.

¹ Commynes uses *non* with the verb *faire* and with the infinitive; Stimming, 502.

² These sentences are not in reality negative: cf. Schultze, *Der altfranzösische Fragesatz*, pp. 27 ff. Such phrases are not infrequent in Commynes: Toennies, 73; Stimming, 501.

³ M.-L., §§ 706, 709.

⁴ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 481, B. 2.

⁵ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 468.

Peculiar to P is the use of the O. F. adverb of place *illecques*: 157, *illecques publicquement fist lire la lecture*; 158, 176, 268, 274, 424. C employs twice the form *illec*: I, 38; II, 242. Q never uses it. This adverb is common in Deschamps¹ and in Chartier,² but becomes very rare at the end of the fifteenth century.³

Peculiar to Q is the employment of *mais* in its original adverbial function⁴ (= *plus*): 15, *oncques mais n'avint si grant honte à femme de mon lignage*; 45, *la dame ne se aide point ne mais se hobe que une pierre*; 64; 98. Villon⁵ has several examples of this usage, but it seems to be unknown to the other authors of the period.

Peculiar to P is the frequent absolute use of *plus*, equivalent to *davantage*, *de plus*, *plus longtemps*: 47, *par quatre choses seullemeut et pour nulle plus*; 78, *je vouldroye qu'il eust plus trois ou quatre de mes ans*; 93, *il a honte d'estre plus paige*; 105, 162, 257, 390, etc. P furthermore employs *oultre plus* with the same signification: 21, *et oultre plus vous sçavez*; 207; etc. Such locutions are unknown to Q and C.

Meshuy (= *jamais, aujourd'huy*) is peculiar to C: I, 8, 48, 161; II, 149; etc.

Q alone has an example of the M. F. adverb *quant et quant*:⁶ 82, *en ce cas il conviendra qu'il trote à pied, et qu'il soit tousjours quant et quant*.

Adverbial *puis* is peculiar to P: 62, *laquelle oncques puis ne lui vint*; 264, *et à tant laisseray à parler de toutes ces armes et des aultres qui puis il fist*.

Adverbial *si*, in the predicate with *estre* or other verbs,⁷ is common in P, less so in Q and C: P, 17, *et si fera ma dame*; 29, *ce pechié est à Dieu desplaisant, si est il à l'honneur et au*

¹ Bode, 81.

³ Cf. Huguet, 231.

⁵ G. T., 215, 290, 720, etc.

⁶ Darmesteter, § 240.

² Eder, 215.

⁴ Cf. Tobler, VB., III, 26 ff.

⁷ Cf. Tobler, VB., I, 105 ff.

corps de celluy qui l'est; 87, *celle nuyet luy fut si longue que oncques si longue ne fut, si lui sembla*;—Q, 128, *que maudit soit il de Dieu. Amen, font elles, et si est il.*

Adverbial *tant*, in affirmative clauses, is found several times in P: 18, *lors commença tant qu'il peult à fuyr*; 154, *dont tant comme je puis et sçay, humblement je vous en remercie*; 235, *ne vous poroye dire le tres grant deuïl que le seigneur de Loyssselench fist tant de sa male fortune comme de ce qu'ung si jeune homme l'avoit fouillé*; 310; 329; etc. This construction is still found in Deschamps,¹ but is unknown to Commynes.² No examples occur in Q or C. *Tant*, with adjectives and adverbs, is common in all three works. The temporal *à tant* occurs in P: 199, 335, etc.;—and in C: II, 24;—but not in Q.

Adverbial *trop* (= *très, bien*) was used with adjectives commonly in the fifteenth century. But in P and C it is found only with comparatives: P, 9, *trop plus honnourées*, 21, *l'aymoit trop mieulx*; 34, 44, 105, 187, 192, etc.;—C, II, 20, *je l'ayme trop mieulx que vous*. In Q, on the other hand, it does not appear with comparatives, but with simple adjectives: 25, *et la chambriere qui la garde respont que elle est trop malade*; 43, 51, 79, 99, 125. Here P and C agree with Chartier³ and Rabelais.⁴

PREPOSITIONS.

A, denoting accompaniment or means,⁵ is common in P: 126, *il avoit tous chevaliers, tel, tel et tel à XIV chevaulx, LX escuyers à XXII chevaulx*; 141; 198; 219; 241; 334, *avons tous aujourd'huy voué, que à vostre bon congié et licence, nous porterons ceste emprise d'armes*; 369, *il la trouva avecques damp Abbez, viz à viz à table, à bien peu de gens*. In

¹ Bode, 79.

² Stimming, 502.

³ Eder, 49.

⁴ Huguet, 255.

⁵ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 462, v.

Q this usage is very rare: 64, *vous ne travaillez si non à despendre et à gaster tout, à gens dont je n'ay que faire*. This use of à is still common in Commynes.¹

À, denoting possession (still common in vulgar speech), is frequent in P: 6, *aisné filz au seigneur de Saintré*; 56, *vertus theologiennes, meres au bon esperit*; 261, *la visiere à Saintré*; 319; 329; etc. In Q this use of à is rare (113, *la couleur à Jacob*), as it is in Commynes.²

À l'encontre de (= contre) occurs in P alone: *ilz bataillent jour et nuyt à l'encontre de l'ame*, 54; etc.

Atout³ (= avec) occurs in P and C, never in Q: P, 140, *Saintré, atout sa compaignie*; 162, 291, 334, 384;—C, 1, 20, etc.

Aval is likewise restricted to P and C: P, 195, *aval leur face*; C, 11, 92, 131.

The O. F. use of *de* to introduce a logical subject or predicate⁴ is preserved by P, though it is not frequent: 29, *et quant au deuxiesme pechié, qui est de ire*; 203, *de ce qu'il en dist, fut plus à l'honneur de messire Enguerrant que au sien*; 341, *la desplaisance et maladie de nostre cueur n'est fors que du desir*. Q prefers *que de*: 55, *ce n'est rien que d'une pouvre femme seule*; 131; etc.

One example of *de* with comparatives, before a noun or pronoun,⁵ occurs in P and Q: P, 368, *maistre Julien n'en pensa guieres moins de la verité*;—Q, 48, *si sui je aisnée d'elle*.

Devant,⁶ as a temporal preposition, occurs in P alone: 17, *davant deux jours, il auroit choisi et fait dame pour servir*.

Entre, meaning "together," introducing a compound subject,⁷ as was common in O. F., is frequent in P: 13, *allez*

¹ Stimming, 203.

² Only one example: Stimming, 201.

³ M.-L., § 444.

⁴ Cf. Tobler, *VB.*, I, 5 ff.

⁵ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 374.

⁶ Cf. Huguet, 294.

⁷ Diez, 1083, note; Tobler, *VB.*, I, 273.

deshors entre vous hommes, et nous laissez icy; 333, *vous sçavez qu'entre nous femmes sommes malades quant il nous plaist*; 389, 403, 421. This usage is unknown to Q and C and seems to have died out quite early. The only other author of the fifteenth century in whom I have been able to find an example is A. Greban.¹ It is unknown to Commines.²

Emprès (= *auprès de*) is peculiar to Q and C: 8, *ils ont le past emprès*³ *eux dedans la nasse*; 25, 48, 82, 120; C, I, 188, 272, etc.

*Encontre*⁴ is found only in P and C: P, 109, *pour s'esprouver encontre quelque chevalier*; 260;—C, I, 27, etc.

Enmy occurs only in C: I, 75, etc.

Entour is peculiar to P: 15, *entour ses dois*; 99; 188; etc.

Endroit, common in O. F.,⁵ occurs twice in Q: 60, *lors les gallants, chacun endroit soy*; 135, *mais chacun, endroit soy, croit le contraire*;—never in P or C.

Environ (= *aux environs de*) occurs in Q: 8, *se tournoye et serche le jeunes homs environ la nasse*; 18; 130;—and in C (only in expressions of time: I, 74, *environ la mynuyt*);—never in P.

The O. F. preposition *o*, *ot* (*apud*) is found in Q:⁶ 82, *parler o ses commeres*; 86, *coucher o luy*; 88; 92; 118; and in C. It is not found in P, but occurs in Chartier,⁷ Villon,⁸ and A. Greban.⁹

Par, denoting extent of time,¹⁰ is very common in P: 12, *par plusieurs jours*; 20, *par deux foyz*; 20, *par quatre jours*;

¹ *Mystère de la Passion*, 14373.

² Stimming, 205.

³ In the *editio princeps* replaced by *auprès de*.

⁴ Cf. Huguet, 276.

⁵ Still found in Deschamps: cf. Bode, 88.

⁶ Not used in the *editio princeps*.

⁷ Eder, 201.

⁸ G. T., 1499.

⁹ *Passion*, 10976.

¹⁰ M.-L., § 453; Stimming, 206; Huguet, 299.

113, *vous le porterez par l'espace d'ung an*; 120, 151, 322, 422, etc. In Q and C this usage is much restricted: Q, 77, *y a prins touz plaisirs par deux ou par trois ou quatre ans*.

Finally, I may notice P's use of *sur* with a superlative, as in O. F.¹ (= *plus que*): 25, *se elle n'est sur toutes la plus cruelle*; 45, *il sur tous sera le mieulx condicionné*; 229, 313, 351. This is found only once in Q: 74, *mon amy, que je ame sur toutes choses qui sont en terre*.

CONJUNCTIONS.

The O. F. *si*, coördinating conjunction, is found very commonly in each of these works, in most of its O. F. functions.² In P, however, it is used more frequently to introduce the main clause, especially after a preceding temporal clause:³ 75, *et quant ma dame veit qu'il ne respondit rien, si lui dist*; 18, 20, 76, 222, 381, etc. I have not observed any instances of this usage in Q, but it is common in other authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The conjunction *ni* appears most frequently in its O. F. form *ne*. In P, more often than in Q or C, this *ne* appears in sentences where no strictly negative force is apparent:⁴ P, 34, *tant soit elle grande ne puissante*; 188, *où est celluy, ne où fut oncques qui . . .*; 190; 369, *et pensa que actendroit pour luy envoyer ne escripve*; 377; etc.;—Q, 46, *je croy qu'il ne soit femme du monde si doulx ne si gracieulx comme vous estes*; 61, *et que en pui-je mes, Sire, fait elle, ne que voulez vous que je en face*; 116.

¹ Haase, p. 371. Not found in Commynes.

² M.-L., § 547: cf. Wehrmann, *Roman. Studien*, v, 399 ff.

³ Darmesteter, § 291.

⁴ Diez, 1082; Huguet, 318; Wehrmann, *loc. cit.*, 414 ff.

In correlated contrasted clauses (N. F. *plus . . . plus, autant . . . autant*)¹ P employs *tant plus . . . et (tant) plus*: 12, *dont, tant plus à lui elle parloit, et tant plus lui venoit à plaisir*; 80, *car tant plus elle le regardoit, et tant plus il luy plaisoit*; 99, *tant plus vous croissez, se ne vous amandez, et plus chetifz et meschans serez*; etc. Q prefers *de tant plus . . . de tant plus*: 59, *et de tant qu'il l'aura plus chiere, de tant luy fera el plus de melencolies*. Commynes here agrees with Q, but has also the modern *plus . . . et plus*.²

In dependant clauses denoting cause or result P employs frequently the conjunctions *en tant que, pour tant que*,³ which are unknown to Q: P, 23, *il a failly, en tant qu'il devoit avoir dame choisie*; 333, *chascun accouroit, pour tant que oncques chose plus joyeuse à veoir ne fut*; etc.

Peculiar to P is further the conjunction *par ainsi que*, concessive: 247, *et par ainsi que l'adventurier ait lectres de son roy . . . qu'il est gentil homme de nom et d'armes*; 412, *et vostre bon faulcon, je le retiens, par ainsi que le me garderez*.

Parquoi,⁴ causative (= *c'est pourquoi*), is also of common occurrence in P: 130, *la dame advertit la royne que Saintré estoit merveilleusement acoustré de coursiers et aultres choses; parquoy ladicte royne dist à Saintré qu'il fist amener ses chevaux*; 149, 154, 211, 248, etc. Q has only two examples: 56, 125.

To express contemporaneous time relations, P employs *endementiers que* and *entendis que*,⁵ both of which are unknown to Q and C: P, 79, *et endementiers qu'ilz dansoient, le petit Saintré les yeulx de ma dame ne cessoit de regarder*; 151, 153, 219, etc. 362, *ma dame, entendis que vostre compaignie fait bonne chere, je vous vueil monstrier mon edifice nouvel*.

¹ Mätzner, 533; Tobler, VB., II, 51 ff.

² Stimming, 506.

⁴ Common in Commynes: Stimming, 506.

³ M.-L., p. 639.

⁵ M.-L., § 599.

P has two examples of the use of the temporal conjunction *quand* to express a causal relation,¹ as was common in O. F.: 325, *de ma part le vous accorde, remerciant quant vous m'avez en tel nombre et compaignie prins et esleu*; 417, *la veissiez pleurs et souspirs et mauldire leurs vies, quant oncques s'estoient la arrivez*.

Peculiar to Q is the use of *puisque* in a temporal function, also common in O. F.:² 9, *car c'est une chose, puisque je la vous auroye dite, vous n'en feriez compte*; 25, *oncques puis qu'il partoît, que elle ne mengea*.

WORD-ORDER AND VARIA.

P has preserved a distinctive trait of the older word-order in imperative sentences. The O. F. rule was that when the command began with an adverb like *or*, *car*, etc., the pronominal object assumed its usual position before the verb.³ P has many examples of this usage: 17, *or doncques, dist ma dame, vous en allez*; 24, *or nous dictes qui elle est*; 24, *or vous tirez donc çà*; 50, *or me dictes vostre intencion*; 53, 72, 413, etc. In Q there is no trace of this usage, nor in C either, so far as I have observed.⁴

Other peculiarities of P's word-order, which are found rarely or not at all in Q and C, are the following:—

(a) The order subject + object + verb:⁵ 11, *desirans veoir lequel d'eulx l'autre surmonteroit*; 46, *mais les empereurs, les rois et les autres princes terriens . . . telles batailles ont*

¹ M.-L., § 587.

² M.-L., § 601.

³ Cf. Estienne, *Grammaire de la langue d'oïl*, 343; Englaender, *Der Imperativ im Altfranzösischen*, Breslau, 1889, p. 48; Krüger, *Ueber die Wortstellung in der franz. Prosalitteratur des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1876, p. 26; Morf, *Roman. Studien*, III, 230.

⁴ Deschamps' usage agrees with that of P: Voll, 16.

⁵ M.-L., § 748; Darmesteter-Sudre, § 494, 2.

ordonnées et maintenues ; 145, le roy d'armes d'Anjou . . . à Saintré ledit scelle presenta.

(b) The order adverbial modifier + verb (no subject expressed):¹ 20, *lors tout à coup à genoulx et à mains jointes se mist* ; 37, *mais tousjours verras que de paresse et de infortune seront tousjours accompagnés* ; 319, *je vous prie que ce soir avecques la royne dormiez.*

(c) The order auxiliary + object + participle:² 42, *qui ont ce pechié tant blasmé* ; 18, *quant Saintré eut les autres enffans ses compaignons trouvés* ; 177, *se les seigneurs de la court . . . n'eussent Saintré oultre son gré retenu.* Q has apparently only one example of this order: 128, *par Nostre Dame du Puy, où j'ay mon corps porté.* It is, however, common in C and in Commynes.³

(d) The order preposition + object or adverb + infinitive:⁴ 3, *pour trop ou peu escripvre* ; 16, *pour le service d'amour acquerir* ; 24, *à couleur changer* ; 27, *à loyaulment une telle dame servir* ; etc. In Q I have again found only one example: 95, *il ne s'esmoye de nulle chose, fors de ses delits et plaisances trouver.*

(e) P is also fond of placing the noun objects of a dependent infinitive before the principal verb:⁵ 50, *si prie à Dieu que tout, ou la plus grant partie, vous doint avoir bien ouy et retenu* ; 79, *le petit Saintré les yeulx de ma dame ne cessoient de regarder* ; etc.

P is also noteworthy for the boldness of its omissions. Thus in many cases the object pronoun is not repeated before several succeeding verbs, even though the regimen of the verbs vary, one taking the accusative and the other the dative: 68, *à qui leur pourra mieulx complaire et plus subtilement flater* ; 156, *ilz luy firent tres bel accueil et festoyerent*

¹ Also frequent in Commynes: cf. Toennies, 20.

² Darmesteter-Sudre, § 494, 3; M.-L., § 737.

³ Stimming, 220.

⁴ Darmesteter-Sudre, § 496.

⁵ Cf. Stimming, 192.

solennellement; 383, *chascun lui vint faire la reverence et acoller*; 421; etc. Q shows no case exactly similar, though the following sentence contains an omission no longer permissible: 103, *la mere a bien introduite la fille et enseignee qu'elle luy donne de grans estorces*. P also often fails to repeat an auxiliary verb, even though one of the following participles demands a different auxiliary from the preceding: 315, *quant le seigneur de Saintré et celle noble et chevaleresque compaignie furent venuz à saint Denis et faites en eglises leurs devociions; furent au devant d'eulx les trois seigneurs ducs*; 406; 419, *les cueurs, dont vous en estes tres faulcement et mauvairement serviz et puis à la fin habandonnez*. Similarly the second auxiliary may be omitted with a changed subject: 64, *et quant serez en vostre porpoint laccé et vos chausses bien nectes et bien tendues*; 121, *Saintré fut tout de neuf et ses gens bien habillés*; 350, *et quant damp Abbez et le maistre d'ostel furent venuz, et le premier assis, ma dame dist à damp Abbez*, etc. Q contains no similar licences, which are however frequent in O. F. and occasionally found as late as the seventeenth century.¹

Lastly, I should like to call attention to the frequent anacolutha and changes of construction in P. La Sale is not a very practised writer; he frequently becomes embroiled in a long sentence, forgets his subject, and continues with a totally different construction. Cf., for example: 23, *le povre tant esbahy et ainsi gehenné d'elles, force luy fut de dire oui*; 49, *ceulx qui errent en toutes choses sans raison, tout se peut amender, fors que les erreurs desordonnées, guerres et batailles*; 94, *le roy, qui par ses gracieusetez et par les bons rapports qu'il en avoit, l'acorda tres voutentiers*; 342, *et nous sçavons que se ma dame sçavoit que de nous venist, suis acertainée qu'elle n'en*

¹ For similar cases in O. F. and a discussion of them, see Tobler, *VB.*, I, 107 ff.

seroit mye contente. Note also 49, 127, 195, 241, 243, 258, 285, 309, 370, 389. Such anacolutha are practically absent from Q, which in general manages long sentences and balances its periods much better than P.

CONCLUSION.

I think that it must be evident from the preceding comparisons that the syntactical usage of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles* is not that of La Sale in *Saintré*. I need not call attention here to the principal points of divergence;¹ that would be merely to recapitulate most of the preceding pages. In almost every case where an exact comparison is possible, La Sale's syntax differs more from that of the works hitherto ascribed to him than the latter does from that of Commynes. Many of the divergences can doubtless be ascribed to the copyists, but after making all consideration for this, enough differences remain to make it decidedly improbable that La Sale had any hand in the composition of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles*. Moreover the manuscripts on which our editions are based date from the same decade of the fifteenth century, and were all written during La Sale's lifetime. Is it likely that an author who paid so much attention to style² in *Saintré* would allow works of such different syntax to be given to the world, even anonymously? In any case, it must now be admitted that the burden of proof lies with those who still assert La Sale's authorship.

¹ The most noteworthy differences in usage are those which affect the partitive article, the subject pronouns, the tonic object pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns, the reflexive verbs, the rules for agreement of verbs and perfect participles, the negative adverbs, and the word-order.

² Cf. Raynaud, *Romania*, xxxi, 538 ff.

The question as to date is more difficult. Generally speaking, *Saintré* is more conservative, has preserved more fully the Old French usage than either of the other works. I have enumerated the syntactical traits in which a marked divergence is to be observed. They number eighty-two: of them, the *Quinze Joyes* is most conservative in twelve,¹ the *Cent Nouvelles* in eight,² leaving the great majority, sixty-two, in favor of *Saintré*. At all events, the study of the syntax does not confirm the views of the author of *Une Énigme littéraire* as to the date of the *Quinze Joyes*. Syntactically, that work can hardly belong to the fourteenth century. The comparisons with Deschamps' usage demonstrate this clearly. The syntax of *Saintré* agrees on the whole most closely with that of Chartier, that of the other works with that of Commynes. This fact may be explained, I think, by remembering that La Sale wrote *Saintré* when advanced in years, and was evidently much influenced by the preceding courtly literature. The syntax then permits the assertion that *Saintré* is the older work; as concerns the relative age of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles*, it hardly allows a definite conclusion.

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¹ Namely, in the use of the indefinite article, the interrogative inversion of pronouns, the indicative in concessive clauses, the imperfect subjunctive in conditional sentences, and the employment of the forms *que que*, adverbial *mais, trop, endroit, environ, o, puisque*, and lack of *beaucoup*.

² Namely, in the use of relatives, of neuter interrogatives, of the indefinites *quant, tant*, the word-order of object pronouns, and the forms *nesun, rien*, and *meshuy*.

NOTE.—The preceding pages were given to the printer before I received the conclusion of C. Haag's paper, *Antoine de la Sale und die ihm zugeschriebenen Werke*, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, cxiii (1904), 101–135, 315–351. Haag's results, based on a study of the intellectual and moral characteristics, the style and spirit, of the three works, are essentially the same as mine. He holds likewise that La Sale cannot be the author of the *Quinze Joyes* and the *Cent Nouvelles*, though he thinks that the author of the latter may have had some personal or literary relations with him.

ABBREVIATIONS AND WORKS CITED.

- P*: *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, edition Hellény, Paris, 1890.
Q: *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage*, edition Jannet, Paris, 1857.
C: *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, edition Wright, Paris, 1857–58.
O. F.: Old French.
M. F.: Middle French (centuries xv–xvi).
N. F.: New French.
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 Diez, *Romanische Grammatik*, 5^{te} Auflage, Bonn, 1882.
M-L: Meyer-Lübke, *Romanische Grammatik*, 3^{ter} Band, *Syntax*, Leipzig, 1899.
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